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XI

ARATUS, ARTAXERXES
GALBA, OTHO

Translated by

BERNADOTTE PERRIN

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WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

BERNADOTTE PERRIN

IN ELEVEN VOLUMES

XI

ARATUS, ARTAXERXES, GALBA AND OTHO

INDEX TO ALL THE LIVES BY

J. W. COHOON

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ARATUS

ΑΡΑΤΟΣ

I. Παροιμίαν τινὰ παλαιάν, ὦ Πολύκρατες, Paris Edition,
δείσας μοι δοκεῖ τὸ δύσφημον αὐτῆς, ὁ φιλόσοφος a. 1624
Χρύσιππος, οὐχ ὃν ἔχει τρόπον, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς αὐτὸς p., 1027
ᾤετο βέλτιον εἶναι, διατίθεται,

τίς πατέρ᾽ αἰνήσει, εἰ μὴ εὐδαίμονες υἱοί;

Διονυσόδωρος δὲ ὁ Τροιζήνιος ἐλέγχων αὐτὸν ἀντεκτίθησι τὴν ἀληθινὴν οὕτως ἔχουσαν·

τίς πατέρ᾽ αἰνήσει, εἰ μὴ κακοδαίμονες υἱοί;

2 καί φησι τοὺς ἀφ᾽ αὐτῶν οὐδενὸς ἀξίους ὄντας,
ὑποδυομένους δὲ προγόνων τινῶν ἀρεταῖς[1] καὶ
πλεονάζοντας ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐπαίνοις ὑπὸ τῆς
παροιμίας ἐπιστομίζεσθαι. ἀλλ᾽ ᾧ γε φύσει τὸ
γενναῖον ἐπιπρέπει ἐκ πατέρων, κατὰ Πίνδαρον,[2]
ὥσπερ σοὶ πρὸς τὸ κάλλιστον ἀφομοιοῦντι τῶν
οἴκοθεν παραδειγμάτων τὸν βίον, εὔδαιμον ἂν εἴη
τὸ μεμνῆσθαι τῶν ἀπὸ γένους ἀρίστων, ἀκούοντας
3 περὶ αὐτῶν ἀεί τι καὶ λέγοντας. οὐ γὰρ ἰδίων

[1] ἀρεταῖς Sint. and Ziegler with S^g; Bekker has ἀρετάς, with inferior MSS.

[2] *Pyth.* viii. 44f. (φυᾷ . . . ἐκ πατέρων παισὶ λῆμα).

ARATUS

I. There is an ancient proverb, Polycrates,[1] which the philosopher Chrysippus puts not as it really is, but as he thought better :—

> "Who will praise a father, except happy sons?"

But Dionysodorus of Troezen corrects him, and restores the true form thus :—

> "Who will praise a father, except unhappy sons?"

And he says that the proverb stops the mouths of those who, being worthless in themselves, take refuge in the virtues of certain ancestors and are forever praising them. But surely for a man in whom, to use Pindar's words, "the noble spirit naturally displayes itself as inherited from sires," and who, like thee, patterns his life after the fairest examples in his family line,—for such men it will be good fortune to be reminded of their noblest progenitors, ever and anon hearing the story of them, or telling it themselves. For it is not that they lack

[1] A friend of Plutarch, not otherwise known, to whom he thus dedicates this *Life*. See the note on the *Theseus*, i. 1.

ἀπορίᾳ καλῶν ἐξαρτῶσιν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπαίνων τὴν
δόξαν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐκείνων τὰ οἰκεῖα συνάπτοντες,
ὡς καὶ τοῦ γένους καὶ τοῦ βίου καθηγεμόνας
εὐφημοῦσι. διὸ κἀγὼ τὸν Ἀράτου τοῦ σοῦ πολί-
του καὶ προπάτορος βίον, ὃν οὔτε τῇ δόξῃ τῇ
περὶ σεαυτὸν οὔτε τῇ δυνάμει καταισχύνεις, ἀπέ-
σταλκά σοι συγγραψάμενος, οὐχ ὡς οὐχὶ πάντων
ἀκριβέστατά σοι μεμεληκὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπίστασθαι
4 τὰς ἐκείνου πράξεις, ἀλλ' ὅπως οἱ παῖδές σου
Πολυκράτης καὶ Πυθοκλῆς οἰκείοις παραδείγμα-
σιν ἐντρέφωνται, τὰ μὲν ἀκούοντες, τὰ δὲ ἀνα-
γινώσκοντες, ἅπερ αὐτοὺς μιμεῖσθαι προσήκει.
φιλαύτου γὰρ ἀνδρός, οὐ φιλοκάλου, παντὸς ἀεὶ
βέλτιστον ἡγεῖσθαι.

II. Ἡ Σικυωνίων πόλις, ἐπεὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς
ἀκράτου καὶ Δωρικῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ὥσπερ ἁρμο-
νίας συγχυθείσης εἰς στάσεις ἐνέπεσε καὶ φιλο-
τιμίας δημαγωγῶν, οὐκ ἐπαύσατο νοσοῦσα καὶ
ταραττομένη καὶ τύραννον ἐκ τυράννου μεταβάλ-
λουσα, μέχρι οὗ Κλέωνος ἀναιρεθέντος εἵλοντο
Τιμοκλείδαν ἄρχοντα καὶ Κλεινίαν, ἄνδρας ἐν-
δόξους τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἐν δυνάμει τῶν πολιτῶν
2 ὄντας. ἤδη δέ τινα τῆς πολιτείας κατάστασιν
ἔχειν δοκούσης Τιμοκλείδας μὲν ἀπέθανεν, Ἀβαν- 1028
τίδας δὲ ὁ Πασέου τυραννίδα πράττων ἑαυτῷ
τὸν Κλεινίαν ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ οἰκείων
τοὺς μὲν ἐξέβαλε, τοὺς δὲ ἀνεῖλεν. ἐζήτει δὲ
καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, Ἄρατον, ἀνελεῖν, ἑπταετῆ
3 καταλελειμμένον. ἐν δὲ τῇ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τα-

[1] In 264 B.C.

noble qualities of their own and make their reputation dependent on their praises of others, nay rather, they associate their own careers with the careers of their great ancestors, whom they hail both as founders of their line and as directors of their lives. And therefore, now that I have written the life of Aratus, who was thy countryman and forefather, and to whom thou thyself art no discredit in either reputation or influence, I send it to thee, not as though thou hadst not been at pains from the beginning to have the most precise knowledge of thy great ancestor's career, but in order that thy sons Polycrates and Pythocles may be reared, now by hearing and now by reading, after examples found in their own family line—examples which it well becomes them to imitate. For it is the lover of himself, and not the lover of goodness, who thinks himself always superior to others.

II. The city of Sicyon, as soon as it had fallen away from its pure Doric form of aristocracy (which was now like a harmony dissolved) and had become a prey to factions and the ambitious schemes of demagogues, was without cease distempered and agitated, and kept changing one tyrant for another, until, after the murder of Cleon, Timocleides and Cleinias were chosen chief magistrates, men of the highest repute and influence among the citizens. But no sooner did the government appear to be somewhat settled than Timocleides died, and Abantidas the son of Paseas, attempting to make himself tyrant, slew Cleinias,[1] and, of the friends and kinsmen of Cleinias, banished some and killed others. He tried to kill also the son of Cleinias, Aratus, left fatherless at the age of seven. But in the confusion

ραχῇ συνεκπεσὼν τοῖς φεύγουσιν ὁ παῖς, καὶ πλανώμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει περίφοβος καὶ ἀβοήθητος, κατὰ τύχην ἔλαθεν εἰς οἰκίαν παρελθὼν γυναικός, ἀδελφῆς μὲν Ἀβαντίδου, Προφάντῳ δὲ τῷ Κλεινίου ἀδελφῷ γεγαμημένης, ὄνομα Σωσοῦς. αὕτη δὲ καὶ τὸ ἦθος οὖσα γενναία καὶ σὺν θεῷ τινι τὸ παιδίον οἰομένη καταπεφευγέναι πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀπέκρυψεν ἔνδον, εἶτα νυκτὸς εἰς Ἄργος ὑπεξέπεμψεν.

III. Οὕτω δ' ἐκκλαπέντι τῷ Ἀράτῳ καὶ διαφυγόντι τὸν κίνδυνον εὐθὺς μὲν ἐνεφύετο καὶ συνηύξετο τὸ σφοδρὸν καὶ διάπυρον μῖσος ἐπὶ τοὺς τυράννους. τρεφόμενος δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἐν Ἄργει ξένοις καὶ φίλοις πατρῴοις ἐλευθερίως, καὶ τὸ σῶμα βλαστάνον ὁρῶν εἰς εὐεξίαν καὶ μέγεθος, ἐπέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ἀσκήσει τῇ περὶ παλαίστραν, ὥστε καὶ πένταθλον ἀγωνίσασθαι καὶ
2 στεφάνων τυχεῖν. ἐπιφαίνεται δ' ἀμέλει καὶ ταῖς εἰκόσιν ἀθλητική τις ἰδέα, καὶ τὸ συνετὸν τοῦ προσώπου καὶ βασιλικὸν οὐ παντάπασιν ἀρνεῖται τὴν ἀδηφαγίαν καὶ τὸ σκαφεῖον. ὅθεν ἐνδεέστερον ἴσως ἢ πολιτικῷ προσῆκον ἦν ἀνδρὶ περὶ τὸν λόγον ἐσπούδασε· καίτοι γεγονέναι κομψότερον εἰπεῖν ἢ δοκεῖ τισιν ἐκ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων κρίνουσιν, ἃ παρέργως καὶ ὑπὸ χεῖρα διὰ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ὀνομάτων ἁμιλλησάμενος κατέλιπε.
3 Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἀβαντίδαν μὲν οἱ περὶ Δεινίαν καὶ Ἀριστοτέλη τὸν διαλεκτικόν, εἰωθότα τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν κατ' ἀγορὰν σχολαζόντων ἑκά-

[1] A contest involving the five arts of running, leaping, hurling the spear, boxing, and wrestling.

which prevailed about the house the boy made his escape with the fugitives, and wandering about in the city, full of fear and helpless, by chance got unnoticed into the house of a woman who was a sister of Abantidas, but had married Prophantus the brother of Cleinias. Her name was Soso. This woman, who was of a noble nature, and thought it a divine dispensation that the boy had taken refuge with her, hid him in the house, and at night sent him secretly off to Argos.

III. Thus was Aratus stolen away from the peril that threatened him, and at once that vehement and glowing hatred of tyrants for which he was noted became a part of his nature and grew with his growth. He was reared in liberal fashion among the guests and friends of his father's house at Argos, and since he saw that his bodily growth promised high health and stature, he devoted himself to the exercises of the palaestra, going so far as to win wreaths of victory in contesting the pentathlum.[1] And indeed even his statues have plainly an athletic look, and the sagacity and majesty of his countenance do not altogether disown the athlete's full diet and wielding of the mattock. Wherefore his cultivation of oratory was perhaps less intense than became a man in public life; and yet he is said to have been a more ornate speaker than some think who judge from the Commentaries which he left; these were a bye-work, and were composed in haste, off-hand, and in the words that first occurred to him in the heat of contest.

Some time after the escape of Aratus, Abantidas was slain by Deinias and Aristotle the logician. The tyrant was wont to attend all their public disputations

στοτε παρεῖναι καὶ συμφιλονεικεῖν, ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τοιαύτην διατριβὴν καὶ κατασκευάσαντες ἐπιβουλὴν ἀνεῖλον, Πασέαν δὲ τὸν Ἀβαντίδου πατέρα τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπολαβόντα Νικοκλῆς δολο-
4 φονήσας ἑαυτὸν ἀνέδειξε τύραννον. τοῦτον ἐμφερέστατον λέγουσι τὴν ὄψιν Περιάνδρῳ τῷ Κυψέλου γενέσθαι, καθάπερ Ἀλκμαίωνι μὲν τῷ Ἀμφιάρεω τὸν Πέρσην Ὀρόντην, Ἕκτορι δὲ τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον νεανίσκον, ὃν ἱστορεῖ Μυρτίλος ὑπὸ πλήθους τῶν θεωμένων, ὡς τοῦτο ἔγνωσαν, καταπατηθῆναι.

IV. Τοῦ δὲ Νικοκλέους τέσσαρας μῆνας τυραννοῦντος, ἐν οἷς πολλὰ κακὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐργασάμενος ἐκινδύνευσεν ὑπὸ Αἰτωλῶν ἐπιβουλευομένην αὐτὴν ἀποβαλεῖν, ἤδη μειράκιον ὁ Ἄρατος ὢν ἀξίωμα λαμπρὸν εἶχε δι' εὐγένειαν καὶ φρόνημα, ὃ διέφαινεν οὐ μικρὸν οὐδὲ ἀργόν, ἐμβριθὲς δὲ καὶ παρ' ἡλικίαν ἀσφαλεστέρᾳ γνώμῃ κεκραμένον.
2 ὅθεν οἵ τε φυγάδες μάλιστα τὸν νοῦν ἐκείνῳ προσεῖχον, ὅ τε Νικοκλῆς οὐκ ἠμέλει τῶν πραττομένων, ἀλλ' ἀδήλως ἀπεθεώρει καὶ παρεφύλαττεν αὐτοῦ τὴν ὁρμήν, τόλμημα μὲν οὐδὲν τηλικοῦτον δεδιὼς οὐδὲ ἔργον οὐδὲν οὕτω παρακεκινδυνευμένον, ὑποπτεύων δὲ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν αὐτὸν δια-
3 λέγεσθαι φίλοις οὖσι καὶ ξένοις πατρῴοις. καὶ γὰρ ἀληθῶς ὁ Ἄρατος ἐπεχείρησε τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκείνην βαδίζειν. ὡς δὲ Ἀντίγονος μὲν ὑπισχνούμενος ἠμέλει καὶ παρῆγε[1] τὸν χρόνον, αἱ δὲ ἀπ'

[1] παρῆγε Coraës and Ziegler, with S^g: παρῆκε (*let the time pass*).

---

[1] 251 B.C.

in the market-place and to take part in them; they encouraged him in this practice, laid a plot, and took his life. Paseas also, the father of Abantidas, after assuming the supreme power, was treacherously slain by Nicocles, who then proclaimed himself tyrant. This man is said to have borne a very close resemblance to Periander the son of Cypselus, just as Orontes the Persian did to Alcmaeon the son of Amphiaraüs, and as the Spartan youth mentioned by Myrtilus did to Hector. Myrtilus tells us that when the throng of spectators became aware of this resemblance, the youth was trampled underfoot.

IV. Nicocles was tyrant of the city for four months, during which he wrought the city much harm, and narrowly escaped losing it to the Aetolians when they plotted to seize it. By this time[1] Aratus, now a young man, was held in marked esteem on account of his high birth, and of his spirit. This was showing itself to be not insignificant nor yet unenterprising, but earnest, and tempered with a judgement safe beyond his years. Wherefore the exiles from Sicyon had their minds fixed most of all upon him, and Nicocles was not neglectful of what was going on, but kept secret watch and ward over his undertakings, not because he feared any deed of so great daring and hazard as that in which Aratus finally engaged, but because he suspected that Aratus was in communication with the kings who had been on terms of friendship and hospitality with his father. And in truth Aratus had attempted to travel along that path. But since Antigonus[2] neglected his promises and prolonged the time, and since the hopes derived

[2] Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia 283–239 B.C.

Αἰγύπτου καὶ παρὰ Πτολεμαίου μακρὰν ἦσαν
ἐλπίδες, ἔγνω δι' αὑτοῦ καταλύειν τὸν τύραννον.
V. Πρώτοις δὲ κοινοῦται τὴν γνώμην Ἀριστο-
μάχῳ καὶ Ἐκδήλῳ. τούτων ὁ μὲν ἐκ Σικυῶνος
ἦν φυγάς, ὁ δὲ Ἔκδηλος Ἀρκὰς ἐκ Μεγάλης
πόλεως, ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος καὶ πρακτικός, Ἀρκε-
σιλάου τοῦ Ἀκαδημιακοῦ γεγονὼς ἐν ἄστει συν-
2 ήθης. δεξαμένων δὲ τούτων προθύμως διελέγετο
τοῖς ἄλλοις φυγάσιν, ὧν ὀλίγοι μὲν αἰσχυνθέντες
ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τὴν ἐλπίδα μετεῖχον τῶν πρατ- 1029
τομένων, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ τὸν Ἄρατον ἐπειρῶντο
κατακωλύειν ὡς ἀπειρίᾳ πραγμάτων θρασυνό-
μενον.
3 Βουλευομένου δ' αὐτοῦ χωρίον τι τῆς Σικυωνίας
καταλαβεῖν, ὅθεν ὡρμημένος διαπολεμήσει πρὸς
τὸν τύραννον, ἧκεν εἰς Ἄργος ἀνὴρ Σικυώνιος ἐκ
τῆς εἱρκτῆς ἀποδεδρακώς· ἦν δὲ τῶν φυγάδων
ἑνὸς Ξενοκλέους ἀδελφός· καὶ τῷ Ἀράτῳ προσ-
αχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ξενοκλέους ἔλεγε τοῦ τείχους
καθ' ὃν ὑπερβὰς αὐτὸς ἐσώθη τόπον, ἐντὸς μὲν
ὀλίγου δεῖν ἐπίπεδον εἶναι, προσπεφυκότα χωρίοις
πετρώδεσι καὶ ὑψηλοῖς, τὸ δὲ ἔξωθεν ὕψος ὑπὸ
4 κλιμάκων οὐ πάνυ ἀνέφικτον. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἤκου-
σεν ὁ Ἄρατος, ἐκπέμπει μετὰ τοῦ Ξενοκλέους
οἰκέτας ἰδίους δύο, Σευθᾶν τε καὶ Τέχνωνα, κατα-
σκεψομένους τὸ τεῖχος, ἐγνωκώς, εἰ δύναιτο,
κρύφα καὶ πρὸς ἕνα κίνδυνον ὀξέως τὸ πᾶν ἀναρ-
ρῖψαι μᾶλλον ἢ μακρῷ πολέμῳ καὶ φανεροῖς
ἀγῶσιν ἰδιώτης ἀντικαθίστασθαι πρὸς τύραννον.
5 ὡς δ' ἐπανῆλθον οἱ περὶ τὸν Ξενοκλέα τοῦ μὲν
τείχους εἰληφότες μέτρα καὶ τοῦ τόπου τὴν φύσιν

from Egypt and Ptolemy[1] were a long way off, he resolved to overthrow the tyrant by his own efforts.

V. The first to whom he imparted his design were Aristomachus and Ecdelus. Of these, the one was an exile from Sicyon, and Ecdelus was an Arcadian of Megalopolis, a student of philosophy and a man of action, who had been an intimate friend of Arcesilaüs the Academic at Athens. These men eagerly adopted his proposals, and he then began conversations with the other exiles. A few of these took part in the enterprise because they were ashamed to disappoint the hope placed in them, but the majority actually tried to stop Aratus, on the ground that his inexperience made him over-bold.

While he was planning to seize some post in the territory of Sicyon from which he might sally forth and make war upon the tyrant, there came to Argos a man of Sicyon who had run away from prison. He was a brother of Xenocles, one of the exiles; and when he had been brought to Aratus by Xenocles, he told him that the part of the city's wall over which he had climbed to safety was almost level with the ground on the inside, where it had been attached to steep and rocky places, and that on the outside it was not at all too high for scaling-ladders. When Aratus had heard this, he sent with Xenocles two servants of his own, Seuthas and Technon, to make an examination of the wall; for he was resolved, if he could, to hazard the whole enterprise on one secret and swift attempt, rather than in a long war and in open contests to match his private resources against those of a tyrant. So when Xenocles and his party came back with measurements of the wall

[1] Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt 283–247 B.C.

ἀπαγγέλλοντες οὐκ ἄπορον οὐδὲ χαλεπήν, τὸ δὲ λαθεῖν προσελθόντας ἐργῶδες εἶναι φάσκοντες ὑπὸ κηπουροῦ τινος κυναρίων, μικρῶν μέν, ἐκτόπως δὲ μαχίμων καὶ ἀπαρηγορήτων, εὐθὺς ἐνίστατο τὴν πρᾶξιν.

VI. Ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν ὅπλων παρασκευὴ συνήθης ἦν, πάντων, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, τότε κλωπείαις χρωμένων καὶ καταδρομαῖς ἐπ' ἀλλήλους· τὰς δὲ κλίμακας Εὐφράνωρ ὁ μηχανοποιὸς ἀναφανδὸν ἐπήξατο, τῆς τέχνης αὐτῷ τὸ ἀνύποπτον διδούσης, ἐπεὶ
2 καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν τῶν φυγάδων. ἄνδρας δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν μὲν ἐν Ἄργει φίλων ἕκαστος ἐξ ὀλίγων δέκα παρέσχεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν ἰδίων οἰκετῶν τριάκοντα καθώπλισεν. ἐμισθώσατο δὲ καὶ διὰ πρώτου Ξενοφίλου τῶν ἀρχικλώπων οὐ πολλοὺς στρατιώτας, οἷς διεδόθη λόγος ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς ἵππους τὰς βασιλικὰς εἰς τὴν Σικυωνίαν ἔξοδος ἔσοιτο. καὶ προεπέμφθησαν οἱ πολλοὶ σποράδες ἐπὶ τὸν Πολυγνώτου πύργον, ἐκεῖ κελευσθέντες περιμεῖναι.
3 προεπέμφθη δὲ καὶ Καφισίας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μετὰ τεσσάρων ἄλλων εὔζωνος, οὓς ἔδει πρὸς τὸν κηπουρὸν ἀφικέσθαι σκοταίους, φάσκοντας ὁδοιπόρους εἶναι, καὶ καταυλισαμένους αὐτόν τε συγκλεῖσαι καὶ τοὺς κύνας· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄλλῃ παρελθεῖν. τὰς δὲ κλίμακας διαλυτὰς οὔσας ἐμβαλόντες εἰς ἀχάνας καὶ κατακαλύψαντες ἐφ' ἁμαξῶν προαπέστειλαν.

4 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ κατασκόπων τινῶν ἐν Ἄργει τοῦ Νικοκλέους φανέντων καὶ περιϊέναι λεγομένων ἀδήλως καὶ παραφυλάττειν τὸν Ἄρατον, ἅμ'

which they had taken, and with a report that the place was by nature not impassable nor even difficult (although they declared that it was hard to get to it undetected owing to a certain gardener's dogs, which were little beasts, but extraordinarily fierce and savage), Aratus at once undertook the business.

VI. Now the laying in of arms was nothing unusual, since almost everybody at that time indulged in robberies and predatory forays; and as for scaling-ladders, Euphranor the engineer made them openly, since his trade screened him from suspicion; and he too was one of the exiles. As for men, each of the friends of Aratus in Argos furnished him with ten out of the few they had, and he himself equipped thirty of his own servants with arms. Through Xenophilus, the foremost of the robber captains, he also hired a few soldiers, to whom it was given out that a foray was to be made into the territory of Sicyon to seize the horses of Antigonus. And most of them were sent on ahead in small bands to the tower of Polygnotus, with orders to wait there. Aratus also sent on in advance Caphisias, lightly armed, with four companions; their orders were to come to the gardener's when it was dark, pretending to be travellers, and after taking up quarters there for the night, to shut up him and his dogs; for there was no other way to get past them. The scaling-ladders, which could be taken apart, were packed in boxes, and thus concealed were sent on ahead in waggons.

In the meantime some spies of Nicocles appeared in Argos and were reported to be secretly going about and watching the movements of Aratus. As soon as it was day, therefore, Aratus left his house

ἡμέρᾳ προελθὼν καὶ φανερὸς ὢν ἐν ἀγορᾷ διέτριβε
μετὰ τῶν φίλων· εἶτ' ἀλειψάμενος ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ
καὶ παραλαβών τινας ἐκ τῆς παλαίστρας τῶν
εἰωθότων πίνειν καὶ ῥᾳθυμεῖν μετ' αὐτοῦ νεανί-
σκων ἀπῆγεν οἴκαδε· καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἑωρᾶτο τῶν
οἰκετῶν αὐτοῦ δι' ἀγορᾶς ὁ μὲν στεφάνους φέρων,
ὁ δὲ λαμπάδας ὠνούμενος, ὁ δὲ τοῖς εἰθισμένοις
παρὰ πότον ψάλλειν καὶ αὐλεῖν γυναίοις διαλεγό-
5 μενος. ταῦτα δὲ οἱ κατάσκοποι πάντα ὁρῶντες
ἐξηπάτηντο καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀναγελῶντες ἔλε-
γον· "Οὐδὲν ἦν ἄρα τυράννου δειλότερον, εἰ καὶ
Νικοκλῆς τηλικαύτην πόλιν ἔχων καὶ τοσαύτην
δύναμιν ὀρρωδεῖ μειράκιον εἰς ἡδονὰς καὶ πότους
μεθημερινοὺς τὰ τῆς φυγῆς ἐφόδια καταχρώ-
μενον."

VII. Οἱ μὲν οὖν οὕτω παραλογισθέντες ἀπηλ-
λάγησαν· ὁ δὲ Ἄρατος εὐθὺς μετ' ἄριστον ἐξελ-
θὼν καὶ συνάψας πρὸς τὸν Πολυγνώτου πύργον
τοῖς στρατιώταις εἰς Νεμέαν προῆγεν, ὅπου τὴν
πρᾶξιν ἐξέφηνε τοῖς πολλοῖς τότε πρῶτον, ὑπο-
2 σχέσεις τε καὶ παρακλήσεις ἐποιήσατο· καὶ σύν- 1030
θημα παραδοὺς Ἀπόλλωνα ὑπερδέξιον προῆγεν
ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, συμμέτρως τῇ περιφορᾷ τῆς σε-
λήνης ἐπιταχύνων καὶ πάλιν ἀνιεὶς τὴν πορείαν,
ὥστε τῷ μὲν φωτὶ χρῆσθαι καθ' ὁδόν, ἤδη δὲ
δυομένης περὶ τὸν κῆπον εἶναι πλησίον τοῦ τεί-
3 χους. ἐνταῦθα Καφισίας ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ, τῶν
μὲν κυναρίων οὐ κρατήσας (ἔφθη γὰρ ἀποπηδή-
σαντα), τὸν δὲ κηπουρὸν ἐγκεκλεικώς. ἀθύμους
δὲ τοὺς πλείστους γενομένους καὶ κελεύοντας
ἀπαλλάττεσθαι παρεθάρρυνεν ὁ Ἄρατος, ὡς ἀπ-
4 άξων, ἂν οἱ κύνες ἄγαν ἐνοχλῶσιν αὐτοῖς. ἅμα

and showed himself openly in the market-place, conversing with his friends; then he anointed himself in the gymnasium, took with him from the palaestra some of the young men who were wont to drink and make holiday with him, and went back home; and after a little one of his servants was seen carrying garlands through the market-place, another buying lights, and another talking with the women that regularly furnished music of harp and flute at banquets. When the spies saw all this, they were completely deceived, and with loud laughter said to one another: "Nothing, you see, is more timorous than a tyrant, since even Nicocles, though master of so great a city and so large a force, is in fear of a stripling who squanders on pleasures and mid-day banquets his means of subsistence in exile."

VII. The spies, then, thus misled, left the city; but Aratus, immediately after the morning meal, sallied forth, joined his soldiers at the tower of Polygnotus, and led them on to Nemea. Here he disclosed his design, to most of them then for the first time, and made them exhortations and promises. Then, after giving out as watchword "Apollo Victorious," he led them forward against Sicyon, quickening or retarding his progress according to the revolution of the moon, so as to enjoy her light while on the march, and as soon as she was setting to be at the garden near the wall. There Caphisias came to meet him; he had not secured the dogs (for they had bounded off before he could do this), but had locked up the gardener. Most of his men were disheartened at this and urged Aratus to retire; but he tried to encourage them, promising to lead them back if the dogs should prove too troublesome for

δὲ τοὺς τὰς κλίμακας φέροντας προπέμψας, ὧν Ἔκδηλος ἡγεῖτο καὶ Μνασίθεος, αὐτὸς ἐπηκολούθει σχολαίως, ἤδη τῶν κυναρίων εὐτόνως ὑλακτούντων καὶ συμπαρατρεχόντων τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἔκδηλον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ προσέμιξάν τε τῷ τείχει καὶ προσήρεισαν τὰς κλίμακας ἀσφαλῶς. ἀνα-
5 βαινόντων δὲ τῶν πρώτων, ὁ τὴν ἑωθινὴν φυλακὴν παραδιδοὺς ἐφώδευε κώδωνι, καὶ φῶτα πολλὰ καὶ θόρυβος ἦν τῶν ἐπιπορευομένων. οἱ δέ, ὥσπερ εἶχον, αὐτοῦ πτήξαντες ἐπὶ τῶν κλιμάκων τούτους μὲν οὐ χαλεπῶς ἔλαθον, ἄλλης δὲ φυλακῆς ἐναντίας ταύτῃ προσερχομένης εἰς τὸν ἔσχατον
6 κίνδυνον ἦλθον. ὡς δὲ κἀκείνην διέφυγον παρελθοῦσαν, εὐθὺς ἀνέβαινον οἱ πρῶτοι Μνασίθεος καὶ Ἔκδηλος, καὶ τὰς ἑκατέρωθεν ὁδοὺς τοῦ τείχους διαλαβόντες ἀπέστελλον Τέχνωνα πρὸς Ἄρατον ἐπείγεσθαι κελεύοντες.

VIII. Ἦν δὲ οὐ πολὺ διάστημα ἀπὸ τοῦ κήπου πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὸν πύργον, ἐν ᾧ κύων μέγας ἐφρούρει θηρατικός. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν οὐκ ᾔσθετο τὴν ἔφοδον, εἴτε φύσει νωθὴς ὤν, εἴτε μεθ' ἡμέραν κατάκοπος γεγονώς. τῶν δὲ τοῦ κηπουροῦ κυναρίων κάτωθεν ἐκκαλουμένων αὐτὸν ὑπεφθέγγετο τυφλὸν καὶ ἄσημον τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα μᾶλλον ἐπ-
2 έτεινε παρερχομένων. καὶ κατεῖχεν ἤδη πολὺς ὑλαγμὸς τὸ χωρίον, ὥστε τὸν πέραν φύλακα κραυγῇ μεγάλῃ πυνθάνεσθαι τοῦ κυνηγοῦ, πρὸς τίνα τραχέως οὕτως ὁ κύων ὑλακτεῖ, καὶ μή τι

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[1] The sentries who had formed the night-watch came up at the sound of the bell, to be inspected, and then relieved by the morning-watch.

them. At the same time he sent forward the men who carried the scaling-ladders, under the command of Ecdelus and Mnasitheus, while he himself followed after them slowly, the dogs already barking vigorously and running along by the side of Ecdelus and his party. However, they reached the wall and planted their ladders against it without mishap. But as the first men were mounting the ladders, the officer who was to set the morning-watch began making his rounds with a bell, and there were many lights and the noise of the sentries coming up.[1] The invaders, however, crouched down just where they were on the ladders, and so escaped the notice of this party without any trouble; but since another watch was coming up to meet the first, they incurred the greatest danger. However, they escaped the notice of this guard also as it passed by, and then the leaders, Mnasitheus and Ecdelus, at once mounted to the top, and after occupying the approaches to the wall on either side, sent Technon to Aratus, urging him to hasten up.

VIII. Now it was no great distance from the garden to the wall, and to the tower, in which a huge dog was on the watch, a hunter. The dog himself did not notice their approach, either because he was naturally sluggish, or because during the day he had become tired out. But when the gardener's whelps challenged him from below, he began to growl in response, faintly and indistinctly at first, then bayed out more loudly as they passed by. Presently the whole place resounded with barking, so that the watchman opposite called with a loud cry to the huntsman asking why his dog was baying so savagely and whether some mischief was not afoot. The hunts-

γίνεται καινότερον. ὁ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου αὐτῷ[1]
ἀντεφώνησε μηδὲν εἶναι δεινόν, ἀλλὰ τὸν κύνα
πρὸς τὸ φῶς τῶν τειχοφυλάκων καὶ τὸν ψόφον
3 τοῦ κώδωνος παρωξύνθαι. τοῦτο μάλιστα τοὺς
Ἀράτου στρατιώτας ἐπέρρωσεν, οἰομένους τὸν
κυνηγὸν ἐπικρύπτειν κοινωνοῦντα τῇ πράξει, εἶναι
δὲ πολλοὺς καὶ ἄλλους ἐν τῇ πόλει τοὺς συν-
εργοῦντας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῷ τείχει προσβαλόν-
των χαλεπὸς ἦν ὁ κίνδυνος καὶ μῆκος ἐλάμβανε,
τῶν κλιμάκων κραδαινομένων εἰ μὴ καθ' ἕνα καὶ
σχολαίως ἀναβαίνοιεν· ἡ δὲ ὥρα κατήπειγεν, ἤδη
φθεγγομένων ἀλεκτρυόνων, καὶ ὅσον οὔπω τῶν
ἐξ ἀγροῦ τι φέρειν εἰωθότων πρὸς ἀγορὰν ἐπερχο-
4 μένων. διὸ καὶ σπεύδων ὁ Ἄρατος ἀνέβαινε,
τεσσαράκοντα τῶν πάντων ἀναβεβηκότων πρὸ
αὐτοῦ· καὶ προσδεξάμενος ἔτι τῶν κάτωθεν ὀλί-
γους ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ τυράννου καὶ τὸ στρα-
τήγιον ἀνῆλθεν· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οἱ μισθοφόροι
παρενυκτέρευον. ἄφνω δὲ ἐπιπεσὼν αὐτοῖς καὶ
συλλαβὼν ἅπαντας, οὐδένα δὲ ἀποκτείνας, εὐθὺς
διεπέμπετο πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἀνακαλούμενος
5 ἕκαστον ἀπ' οἰκίας. καὶ συνδραμόντων παν-
ταχόθεν, ἡμέρα μὲν ὑπέλαμπεν ἤδη καὶ τὸ θέατρον
ἦν ὄχλου μεστόν, ἔτι πρὸς τὴν ἄδηλον αἰωρου-
μένων φήμην καὶ σαφὲς οὐδὲν εἰδότων ὑπὲρ τῶν
πραττομένων, πρίν γε δὴ προελθὼν ὁ κήρυξ εἶπεν
ὡς Ἄρατος ὁ Κλεινίου παρακαλεῖ τοὺς πολίτας
ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.

IX. Τότε δὲ πιστεύσαντες ἥκειν ἃ πάλαι
προσεδόκων, ὥρμησαν ἀθρόοι πρὸς τὰς θύρας τοῦ

man answered him from the tower that there was nothing to fear, but that his dog had been excited by the lights of the sentries and the din of the bell. This more than anything else gave heart to the soldiers of Aratus. They thought that the huntsman was privy to their design and was trying to conceal it, and that there were many others also in the city who would assist them. However, when the rest of the company essayed the wall, their peril was grievous and protracted, since the ladders shook unless they mounted one by one and slowly; moreover, time was pressing, since cocks were already crowing, and directly the people who brought produce from the country to the market-place would be coming up. Therefore Aratus also mounted the wall in haste, after forty in all had mounted before him; and when he had been joined by a few more of those below, he went up against the tyrant's house and the praetorium, where the mercenary soldiers passed the night. And after falling upon these suddenly and capturing them all, but killing none, he straightway sent messages to his friends summoning them all from their homes, and they ran together from all quarters. Day was now breaking, and the theatre was thronged with people who still were in suspense because of the uncertain rumour that prevailed and in utter ignorance of what was afoot, until the herald came forward and made proclamation that Aratus the son of Cleinias invited the citizens to secure their freedom.

IX. Then, convinced that what they had long expected was come, they rushed in a body to the

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[1] ἀπὸ . . . αὐτῷ bracketed by Sint.[2]; Ziegler reads πρὸς αὐτόν, with Stephanus.

τυράννου πῦρ ἐπιφέροντες. ἤρθη δὲ φλὸξ μεγάλη
καὶ καταφανὴς μέχρι Κορίνθου τῆς οἰκίας ἀνα-
φθείσης, ὥστε θαυμάσαντας τοὺς ἐν Κορίνθῳ
παρὰ μικρὸν ὁρμῆσαι πρὸς τὴν βοήθειαν. ὁ μὲν 1031
οὖν Νικοκλῆς ἔλαθε διά τινων ὑπονόμων ὑπεκδὺς
2 καὶ ἀποδρὰς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται
καταπαύσαντες μετὰ τῶν Σικυωνίων τὸ πῦρ
διήρπαζον τὴν οἰκίαν. καὶ οὔτε ταῦτα ἐκώλυσεν
ὁ Ἄρατος, τά τε λοιπὰ χρήματα τῶν τυράννων
εἰς μέσον ἔθηκε τοῖς πολίταις. ἀπέθανε δὲ οὐδεὶς
οὐδὲ ἐτρώθη τὸ παράπαν τῶν ἐπελθόντων οὐδὲ
τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ καθαρὰν καὶ ἄθικτον αἵματος
ἐμφυλίου τὴν πρᾶξιν ἡ τύχη διεφύλαξε.

3 Κατήγαγε δὲ φυγάδας τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ Νικο-
κλέους ἐκπεπτωκότας ὀγδοήκοντα, τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν
ἔμπροσθεν τυράννων οὐκ ἐλάττους πεντακοσίων,
οἷς μακρὰ μὲν ἡ πλάνη καὶ ὁμοῦ τι πεντηκον-
ταετὴς ἐγεγόνει. κατελθόντες δὲ οἱ πλεῖστοι
πένητες, ὧν κύριοι πρότερον ἦσαν ἐπελαμβάνοντο,
καὶ βαδίζοντες ἐπὶ τὰ χωρία καὶ τὰς οἰκίας δεινὴν
ἀπορίαν τῷ Ἀράτῳ παρεῖχον, ἐπιβουλευομένην
μὲν ἔξωθεν καὶ φθονουμένην ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου τὴν
πόλιν ὁρῶντι διὰ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ταραττομένην
δὲ ὑφ' αὑτῆς καὶ στασιάζουσαν.

4 Ὅθεν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἄριστα κρίνας προσέ-
μιξεν αὐτὴν φέρων τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς· καὶ Δωριεῖς
ὄντες ὑπέδυσαν ἑκουσίως ὄνομα καὶ πολιτείαν
τὴν Ἀχαιῶν οὔτε ἀξίωμα λαμπρὸν οὔτε μεγάλην
ἰσχὺν ἐχόντων τότε. μικροπολῖται γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ
πολλοί, καὶ γῆν οὔτε χρηστὴν οὔτε ἄφθονον

residence of the tyrant, carrying firebrands. A great flame arose as the house caught fire, and it was visible as far as Corinth, so that the people of Corinth were astonished and were on the point of sallying forth to help. Nicocles, then, slipped out unnoticed by way of certain underground passages, and ran away from the city, and the soldiers, after extinguishing the fire with the aid of the Sicyonians, plundered his house. Nor did Aratus prevent this, but put the rest of the wealth of the tyrants at the disposition of the citizens. And not a man was killed or even wounded at all, either among the assailants or their enemies, but fortune preserved the enterprise free from the taint of civil bloodshed.

Aratus restored eighty exiles who had been banished by Nicocles, and those also who had fled the city during the reign of former tyrants, to the number of five hundred. These had long been wanderers, yes, for close to fifty years. And now that they had come back, most of them in poverty, they laid claim to the property which they had formerly held, and by going to their farms and houses threw Aratus into great perplexity. For he saw that the city was plotted against by outsiders and eyed with jealousy by Antigonus because it had regained its freedom, while it was full of internal disturbances and faction.

Wherefore, as things stood, he thought it best to attach the city promptly to the Achaean League; and so, though the people of Sicyon were Dorians, they voluntarily assumed the name and civil polity of the Achaeans, who at that time had neither brilliant repute nor great strength. For most of them lived in small cities, owned land that was

ἐκέκτηντο, καὶ θαλάττῃ προσῴκουν ἀλιμένῳ, τὰ
πολλὰ κατὰ ῥαχίας ἐκφερομένη πρὸς τὴν ἤπειρον.
5 ἀλλὰ μάλιστα δὴ διέδειξαν οὗτοι τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν
ἀλκὴν ἀπρόσμαχον οὖσαν, ὁσάκις τύχοι κόσμου
καὶ συντάξεως ὁμοφρονούσης καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντος
ἡγεμόνος, οἳ τῆς μὲν πάλαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀκμῆς
οὐδέν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, μέρος ὄντες, ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε μιᾶς
ἀξιολόγου πόλεως σύμπαντες ὁμοῦ δύναμιν οὐκ
6 ἔχοντες, εὐβουλίᾳ καὶ ὁμονοίᾳ, καὶ ὅτι τῷ πρώτῳ
κατ' ἀρετὴν ἐδύναντο μὴ φθονεῖν, ἀλλὰ πείθεσθαι
καὶ ἀκολουθεῖν, οὐ μόνον αὑτοὺς ἐν μέσῳ πόλεων
καὶ δυνάμεων τηλικούτων καὶ τυραννίδων διεφύ-
λαξαν ἐλευθέρους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλή-
νων ὡς πλείστους ἐλευθεροῦντες καὶ σῴζοντες
διετέλουν.

X. Ἦν δὲ Ἄρατος τῷ τρόπῳ πολιτικός, μεγα-
λόφρων, ἀκριβέστερος εἰς τὰ κοινὰ μᾶλλον τῶν
ἰδίων, πικρῶς μισοτύραννος, ἔχθρας ὅρῳ καὶ
2 φιλίας ἀεὶ τῷ κοινῷ συμφέροντι χρώμενος. ὅθεν
οὐχ οὕτως δοκεῖ γεγονέναι φίλος ἀκριβής, ὡς
ἐχθρὸς εὐγνώμων καὶ πρᾷος, ὑπὸ τῆς πολιτείας
ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τῷ καιρῷ μεταβαλλόμενος, ὁμονοίας
ἐθνῶν καὶ κοινωνίας πόλεων καὶ συνεδρίου καὶ
θεάτρου μίαν φωνὴν ἀφιέντος ὡς οὐδενὸς ἄλλου
τῶν καλῶν ἐραστής, πολέμῳ καὶ ἀγῶνι χρήσα-
σθαι φανερῶς ἀθαρσὴς καὶ δύσελπις, κλέψαι δὲ
πράγματα καὶ συσκευάσασθαι κρύφα πόλεις
3 καὶ τυράννους ἐπηβολώτατος. διὸ καὶ πολλὰ
τῶν ἀνελπίστων κατορθώσας ἐν οἷς ἐτόλμησεν,
οὐκ ἐλάττονα δοκεῖ τῶν δυνατῶν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν

neither fertile nor extensive, and were neighbours to a sea that had no harbours and for the most part washed a precipitous and rocky shore. But this people more than any other showed the world that Greek prowess was invincible, whenever it enjoyed good order, harmonious discipline, and a sensible leader. For though they had taken almost no part in the ancient glories of Greece, and at this time, though counted all together, had not the power of a single considerable city, still, owing to their good counsels and their concord, and because they were able, in place of envying, to obey and follow the one who was pre-eminent among them for virtue, they not only preserved their own freedom in the midst of so great cities and powers and tyrannies, but also were continually saving and setting free very many of the other Greeks.

X. Aratus was by natural bent a statesman, high-minded, more exact in his public than in his private relations, a bitter hater of tyrants, and ever making a regard for the public weal determine his enmity or his friendship. Wherefore he seems to have proved not so much a strict friend, as a considerate and mild enemy, changing his ground in either direction according to the exigencies of the state, loving concord between nations, community of cities, and unanimity of council and assembly, beyond all other blessings. It was manifest that he resorted to open warfare and strife without courage and with little confidence, but that in stealing advantages and secretly managing cities and tyrants he was most proficient. Therefore, though he won many unexpected successes where he showed courage, he seems to have lost no fewer favourable opportunities through

δι' εὐλάβειαν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον, ὡς ἔοικε, θηρίων τινῶν ὄψεις ἐνεργοὶ διὰ σκότους οὖσαι μεθ' ἡμέραν ἀποτυφλοῦνται ξηρότητι καὶ λεπτότητι τῆς περὶ τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ὑγρότητος μὴ φερούσης τὴν πρὸς τὸ φῶς σύγκρασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεινότης τίς ἐστιν ἀνθρώπου καὶ σύνεσις ἐν τοῖς ὑπαίθροις καὶ διακεκηρυγμένοις εὐτάρακτος φύσει, πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἐπικρύφους καὶ λαθραίους ἀναθαρσοῦσα πράξεις.
4 τὴν δὲ τοιαύτην ἀνωμαλίαν ἔνδεια λόγου φιλοσόφου περὶ τὰς εὐφυΐας ἀπεργάζεται, τὴν ἀρετήν, ὥσπερ καρπὸν αὐτοφυῆ καὶ ἀγεώργητον, ἐκφερούσας δίχα τῆς ἐπιστήμης. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐξεταζέσθω τοῖς παραδείγμασιν. 103

XI. Ὁ δὲ Ἄρατος, ἐπεὶ κατέμιξε τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἐν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι στρατευόμενος ἠγαπᾶτο δι' εὐπείθειαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων, ὅτι, καίπερ συμβολὰς τῷ κοινῷ μεγάλας δεδωκὼς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δόξαν καὶ τὴν τῆς πατρίδος δύναμιν, ὡς ἑνὶ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων χρῆσθαι παρεῖχεν αὐτῷ τὸν ἀεὶ στρατηγοῦντα[1] τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, εἴτε Δυμαῖος, εἴτε Τριταιεύς, εἴτε μικροτέρας τινὸς ὢν
2 τύχοι πόλεως. ἧκε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χρημάτων δωρεὰ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι τάλαντα. ταῦτα ἔλαβε μὲν ὁ Ἄρατος, λαβὼν δὲ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πολίταις ἐπέδωκεν ἀπορουμένοις εἴς τε τἆλλα καὶ λύτρωσιν αἰχμαλώτων.

XII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ φυγάδες ἦσαν ἀπαρηγόρητοι τοῖς ἔχουσι τὰς κτήσεις ἐνοχλοῦντες, ἥ τε πόλις ἐκινδύνευεν ἀνάστατος γενέσθαι, μίαν ὁρῶν ἐλπίδα τὴν Πτολεμαίου φιλανθρωπίαν ὥρμησεν ἐκπλεῦ-

[1] τὸν ἀεὶ στρατηγοῦντα Ziegler, with Sint.[1] and the MSS.: τῷ ἀεὶ στρατηγοῦντι.

over-caution. For not only in the case of certain wild beasts, as it would seem, is the vision strong by night but wholly blinded in the day-time (since the humour in their eyes is too dry and delicate to bear contact with the light), but there is also in some men a cleverness and sagacity which is prone to be confounded in transactions that are carried out under the open sky and proclaimed abroad by public criers, but when confronting hidden and secret enterprises recovers its courage. Such unevenness a lack of philosophy may cause in men of good natural parts; they produce virtue without scientific knowledge, and it is like spontaneous and uncultivated fruit. This can be proved by examples.

XI. Aratus, now, after uniting himself and his city with the Achaeans, served in the cavalry, and was beloved by his commanders on account of his ready obedience. For although he had made great contributions to the commonwealth in his own reputation and the power of his native city, he gave his services like those of any ordinary person to the one who from time to time was general of the Achaeans, whether he was a man of Dyme or of Tritaea, or of a meaner city. And there came to him also a gift of money from the king of Egypt, five-and-twenty talents. These Aratus accepted, but gave them at once to his fellow-citizens, who were in want of money, especially for the ransoming of such as had been taken prisoners.

XII. But the exiles were not to be dissuaded from molesting those who were in possession of their property, and the city was in danger of an upheaval. Aratus saw that his only hope was in the generosity of Ptolemy, and therefore determined to sail to

σαι καὶ δεηθῆναι τοῦ βασιλέως ὅπως αὐτῷ
2 χρήματα συμβάληται πρὸς τὰς διαλύσεις. ἀνήχθη μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ Μοθώνης ὑπὲρ Μαλέας, ὡς τῷ διὰ πόρου δρόμῳ χρησόμενος. πρὸς δὲ μέγα πνεῦμα καὶ πολλὴν θάλασσαν ἐκ πελάγους κατιοῦσαν ἐνδόντος τοῦ κυβερνήτου, παραφερόμενος μόλις ἥψατο τῆς Ἀδρίας πολεμίας οὔσης. ἐκρατεῖτο γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἀντιγόνου καὶ φυλακὴν εἶχεν· ἣν φθάσας ἀπέβη, καὶ τὴν ναῦν καταλιπὼν ἀπεχώρησε μακρὰν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἔχων ἕνα τῶν
3 φίλων σὺν αὑτῷ Τιμάνθην. καὶ καταβαλόντες ἑαυτοὺς εἴς τινα τόπον ὕλης γέμοντα χαλεπῶς ἐνυκτέρευον. ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον ὁ φρούραρχος ἐπελθὼν καὶ ζητῶν τὸν Ἄρατον ὑπὸ τῶν θεραπόντων ἐξηπατήθη τῶν ἐκείνου, δεδιδαγμένων λέγειν ὡς εὐθὺς ἀποδρὰς εἰς Εὔβοιαν ἐξέπλευσε. τὰ μέντοι κομιζόμενα καὶ τὴν ναῦν καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας ἀπέφηνε πολέμια καὶ κατέσχε.

4 Μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας οὐ πολλὰς ἐν ἀπόροις ὄντι τῷ Ἀράτῳ γίνεταί τις εὐτυχία, Ῥωμαϊκῆς νεὼς παραβαλούσης κατὰ τὸν τοπον ἐν ᾧ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ σκοπὴν ἀνιών, τὰ δὲ κρυπτόμενος διῆγεν. ἔπλει μὲν οὖν ἡ ναῦς εἰς Συρίαν, ἐπέβη δὲ πείσας τὸν ναύκληρον ἄχρι Καρίας διακομισθῆναι· καὶ διεκομίσθη κινδύνοις αὖθις οὐκ ἐλάττοσι χρησάμενος
5 κατὰ θάλατταν. ἐκ δὲ Καρίας χρόνῳ πολλῷ περαιωθεὶς εἰς Αἴγυπτον αὐτόθεν τε τῷ βασιλεῖ διακειμένῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν οἰκείως ἐνέτυχε, καὶ τεθερα-

Egypt and beg the king to furnish him with money for the settlement of these disputes. So he put to sea from Mothone above Malea, intending to make the shortest passage. But the steersman could not make head against a strong wind and high waves that came in from the open sea, and being carried out of his course got with difficulty to Adria,[1] which was a hostile place. For it was in the power of Antigonus, and held a garrison of his. Aratus anticipated arrest by landing, and forsaking the ship withdrew a long way from the sea, having with him one of his friends, Timanthes. They threw themselves into a place that was thickly covered with woods, and had a grievous night of it. A little later the commander of the garrison came to the ship in search of Aratus, and was deceived by his servants, who had been instructed to say that he had run away at once and had sailed off to Euboea. The ship, however, with its cargo and the servants of Aratus, was declared a prize of war and detained.

After a few days, while still in this helpless plight, Aratus met with a rare piece of good fortune, for a Roman ship put in at the place where he was staying, sometimes on a lookout-place, and sometimes hiding himself. The ship was bound for Syria, but after going on board Aratus persuaded the master of the vessel to convey him as far as Caria. Thither he was conveyed, encountering fresh perils by sea and perils as great as before. From Caria, after a long time, he made his way across to Egypt, and found the king both naturally well disposed towards him, and much grati-

[1] The text is probably corrupt. Bergk suggested Hydrea, an island off the N.E. coast of Peloponnesus. Others think of Andros, an island S.E. of Euboea.

πευμένῳ γραφαῖς καὶ πίναξιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος,
ἐν οἷς κρίσιν ἔχων οὐκ ἄμουσον ὁ Ἄρατος ἀεί
τι τῶν τεχνικῶν καὶ περιττῶν, μάλιστα δὲ Παμ-
φίλου καὶ Μελάνθου, συνάγων καὶ κτώμενος
ἀπέστελλεν.

XIII. Ἤνθει γὰρ ἔτι δόξα τῆς Σικυωνίας μού-
σης καὶ χρηστογραφίας, ὡς μόνης ἀδιάφθορον
ἐχούσης τὸ καλόν, ὥστε καὶ Ἀπελλῆν ἐκεῖνον
ἤδη θαυμαζόμενον ἀφικέσθαι καὶ συγγενέσθαι
τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐπὶ ταλάντῳ, τῆς δόξης μᾶλλον
ἢ τῆς τέχνης δεόμενον μεταλαβεῖν. διὸ τὰς μὲν
ἄλλας εἰκόνας τῶν τυράννων ἀνεῖλεν εὐθὺς ὁ
Ἄρατος, ὅτε τὴν πόλιν ἠλευθέρωσε, περὶ δὲ τῆς
Ἀριστράτου κατὰ Φίλιππον ἀκμάσαντος ἐβου-
2 λεύσατο πολὺν χρόνον. ἐγράφη μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ πάν-
των τῶν περὶ τὸν Μέλανθον ἅρματι νικηφόρῳ
παρεστὼς ὁ Ἀρίστρατος, Ἀπελλοῦ συνεφαψα-
μένου τῆς γραφῆς, ὡς Πολέμων ὁ περιηγητὴς
ἱστόρηκεν. ἦν δὲ τὸ ἔργον ἀξιοθέατον, ὥστε
γνάμπτεσθαι τὸν Ἄρατον ὑπὸ τῆς τέχνης, αὖθίς
τε μίσει τῷ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους ἐξαγόμενον
3 κελεύειν καθαιρεῖν. τὸν οὖν ζωγράφον Νεάλκη
φίλον ὄντα τοῦ Ἀράτου παραιτεῖσθαί φασι καὶ
δακρύειν, ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθεν, εἰπεῖν ὅτι τοῖς τυράν-
νοις πολεμητέον, οὐ τοῖς τῶν τυράννων. "Ἐάσω-
μεν οὖν τὸ ἅρμα καὶ τὴν Νίκην, αὐτὸν δέ σοι 1033
παρέξω τὸν Ἀρίστρατον ἐγὼ παραχωροῦντα τοῦ
πίνακος." ἐπιτρέψαντος οὖν τοῦ Ἀράτου δι-

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[1] Philip II., 382–336 B.C.

fied because Aratus had sent him drawings and paintings from Greece. In these matters Aratus had a refined judgement, and was continually collecting and acquiring works of artistic skill and excellence, especially those of Pamphilus and Melanthus. These he would send to Ptolemy.

XIII. For the fame of Sicyon's refined and beautiful paintings was still in full bloom, and they alone were thought to have a beauty that was indestructible. Therefore even the great Apelles, when he was already admired, came to Sicyon and gave a talent that he might be admitted into the society of its artists, desiring to share their fame rather than their art. Hence it was that Aratus, although he at once destroyed the other portraits of the tyrants when he had given the city its freedom, deliberated a long time about that of Aristratus (who flourished in the time of Philip of Macedon[1]). For it was the work of Melanthus and all his pupils, and Aristratus was painted standing by a chariot in which was a Victory; Apelles also had a hand in the painting, as we are told by Polemon the Topographer. And the work was a marvellous one, so that Aratus was moved by the artistic skill therein; but afterwards, such was his hatred of the tyrants, that he ordered it to be removed and destroyed. Accordingly, the painter Nealces, who was a friend of Aratus, interceded with him for the picture, as we are told, and with tears, and when he could not persuade him, said that war should be waged against the tyrants, but not against the treasures of the tyrants. "Let us therefore leave the chariot and the Victory, but Aristratus himself I will undertake to remove from the picture." Aratus

ἤλειψεν ὁ Νεάλκης τὸν Ἀρίστρατον, εἰς δὲ τὴν χώραν φοίνικα μόνον ἐνέγραψεν, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν ἐτόλμησε παραβαλεῖν. τοὺς δὲ πόδας ἐξαλειφομένου τοῦ Ἀριστράτου διαλαθεῖν ὑπὸ τὸ ἅρμα λέγουσιν.

4 Ἔκ τε δὴ τούτων ὁ Ἄρατος ἠγαπᾶτο, καὶ διδοὺς πεῖραν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἥψατο τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ δωρεὰν ἔλαβε τῇ πόλει πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα. καὶ τούτων τεσσαράκοντα μὲν εὐθὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ κομίζων εἰς Πελοπόννησον κατῆρε, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ διελὼν εἰς δόσεις ὁ βασιλεὺς ὕστερον κατὰ μέρος ἀπέστειλεν.

XIV. Ἦν μὲν οὖν μέγα καὶ τὸ χρήματα τοσαῦτα πορίσαι τοῖς πολίταις, ὅσων μικρὸν μέρος ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ καὶ δημαγωγοὶ λαμβάνοντες παρὰ βασιλέων ἠδίκουν καὶ κατεδουλοῦντο καὶ προέπινον αὐτοῖς τὰς πατρίδας, μείζων δὲ ἡ διὰ τῶν χρημάτων τούτων κατασκευασθεῖσα τοῖς μὲν ἀπόροις πρὸς τοὺς πλουσίους διάλυσις καὶ ὁμόνοια, τῷ δὲ δήμῳ παντὶ σωτηρία καὶ ἀσφάλεια, θαυμαστὴ δὲ ἡ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐν δυνάμει τοσαύτῃ
2 μετριότης. ἀποδειχθεὶς γὰρ αὐτοκράτωρ διαλλακτὴς καὶ κύριος ὅλως ἐπὶ τὰς φυγαδικὰς οἰκονομίας μόνος οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλὰ πεντεκαίδεκα τῶν πολιτῶν προσκατέλεξεν ἑαυτῷ, μεθ' ὧν πόνῳ πολλῷ καὶ μεγάλαις πραγματείαις κατειργάσατο καὶ συνήρμοσε φιλίαν καὶ εἰρήνην τοῖς πολίταις. ἐφ' οἷς οὐ μόνον κοινῇ σύμπαντες οἱ πολῖται τιμὰς ἀπέδοσαν αὐτῷ πρεπούσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ'

therefore yielded, and Nealces erased the figure of Aristratus, and in its place painted a palm-tree merely, not daring to introduce anything else. We are told, however, that the feet of the erased figure of Aristratus were left by an oversight beneath the chariot.

In consequence of this love of art Aratus was already beloved by the king, and in personal intercourse grew yet more upon him, and received for his city a gift of a hundred and fifty talents. Forty of these Aratus took with him at once and sailed to Peloponnesus; the rest the king divided into instalments, and sent them to him afterwards one by one.

XIV. Now it was a great achievement to procure so large a sum of money for his fellow-citizens; other generals and leaders of the people had taken but a fraction of this sum from kings in payment for wronging, enslaving, and betraying to them their native cities. But it was a far greater achievement by means of this money to have effected a harmonious adjustment of the disputes between rich and poor, and safety and security for the entire people. Moreover, we must admire the moderation of the man in the exercise of so great power. For when he was appointed independent arbiter, with absolute powers for settling the money affairs of the exiles, he would not accept the office alone, but associated with himself fifteen of his fellow-citizens, by whose aid, after much toil and great trouble, he established peace and friendship among his fellow-citizens.[1] For these services not only did the entire body of citizens bestow fitting public honours upon him, but the exiles also on their own account erected a bronze

[1] Cf. Cicero, *De Off.* ii. 23, 81ff.

ἰδίαν οἱ φυγάδες εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ἀναστήσαντες ἐπέγραψαν τόδε τὸ ἐλεγεῖον·

3 βουλαὶ μὲν καὶ ἄεθλα καὶ ἁ περὶ Ἑλλάδος ἀλκά
τοῦδ' ἀνδρὸς στάλαις πλάθεται Ἡρακλέους·
ἄμμες δ' εἰκόν', Ἄρατε, τεὰν νόστοιο τυχόντες
στάσαμεν ἀντ' ἀρετᾶς ἠδὲ δικαιοσύνας
σωτῆρος σωτῆρσι θεοῖς, ὅτι πατρίδι τᾷ σᾷ
δαιμόνιον[1] θείαν τ' ὤπασας εὐνομίαν.

XV. Ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ὁ Ἄρατος τοῦ μὲν πολιτικοῦ φθόνου μείζων ἐγεγόνει διὰ τὰς χάριτας, Ἀντίγονος δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνιώμενος ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ βουλόμενος ἢ μετάγειν ὅλως τῇ φιλίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἢ διαβάλλειν πρὸς τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, ἄλλας τε φιλανθρωπίας ἐνεδείκνυτο μὴ πάνυ προσιεμένῳ, καὶ θύων θεοῖς ἐν Κορίνθῳ μερίδας εἰς Σικυῶνα
2 τῷ Ἀράτῳ διέπεμπε. καὶ παρὰ τὸ δεῖπνον, ἑστιωμένων πολλῶν, εἰς μέσον φθεγξάμενος, "Ὤιμην," ἔφη, "τὸν Σικυώνιον τοῦτον νεανίσκον ἐλευθέριον εἶναι τῇ φύσει μόνον καὶ φιλοπολίτην· ὁ δὲ καὶ βίων ἔοικε καὶ πραγμάτων βασιλικῶν ἱκανὸς εἶναι κριτής. πρότερον γὰρ ἡμᾶς ὑπερεώρα ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἔξω βλέπων καὶ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον ἐθαύμαζε πλοῦτον, ἐλέφαντας καὶ στόλους καὶ αὐλὰς ἀκούων, νυνὶ δὲ ὑπὸ σκηνὴν ἑωρακὼς πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖ πράγματα τραγῳδίαν ὄντα καὶ σκηνογραφίαν
3 ὅλος ἡμῖν προσκεχώρηκεν. αὐτός τε οὖν ἀποδέχομαι τὸ μειράκιον ἐγνωκὼς εἰς ἅπαντα χρή-

[1] δαιμόνιον Sint.[2] and Ziegler, after Zeitz: δαίμον' ἴσον.

statue of him, and inscribed thereon the following elegiac verses:—

> "The counsels, valorous deeds, and prowess in behalf of Hellas, which this man has displayed, are known as far as the Pillars of Heracles; but we who achieved our return through thee, Aratus, for thy virtue and justice, have erected to the Saviour Gods this statue of our saviour, because to thy native city thou hast brought a sacred and heavenly reign of law."

XV. These successful achievements placed Aratus beyond the jealousy of his fellow-citizens, owing to the gratitude which he inspired; but Antigonus, the king, was annoyed by the policy of Aratus, and wished either to bring him over into complete friendship with himself or to alienate him from Ptolemy. He therefore showed him many kindnesses which were not at all welcome, and especially this, that as he was sacrificing to the gods at Corinth, he sent portions of the victims to Aratus at Sicyon. And at the banquet which followed, where many guests were present, he said, so that all could hear: "I thought this Sicyonian youth was merely free-spirited and a lover of his fellow-citizens; but he would seem to be a capable judge also of the lives and actions of kings. For formerly he was inclined to overlook us, fixing his hopes elsewhere, and he admired the wealth of Egypt, hearing tales of its elephants, and fleets, and palaces; but now that he has been behind the scenes and seen that everything in Egypt is play-acting and painted scenery, he has come over entirely to us. Therefore I both welcome the young man myself, having determined to make every possible use of

σθαι, καὶ ὑμᾶς ἀξιῶ φίλον νομίζειν." τούτους τοὺς
λόγους ὑπόθεσιν λαβόντες οἱ φθονεροὶ καὶ κακο-
ήθεις διημιλλῶντο ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἀλλήλοις,
πολλὰ καὶ δυσχερῆ κατὰ τοῦ Ἀράτου τῷ Πτολε-
μαίῳ γράφοντες, ὥστε κἀκεῖνον ἐγκαλοῦντα πέμ-
ψαι. ταῖς μὲν οὖν περιμαχήτοις καὶ διαπύροις
τοξευομέναις ἔρωσι φιλίαις βασιλέων καὶ τυράν-
νων τοσοῦτον προσῆν φθόνου καὶ κακοηθείας.

XVI. Ὁ δὲ Ἄρατος αἱρεθεὶς στρατηγὸς τὸ πρῶ-
τον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τὴν μὲν ἀντιπέρας Λοκρίδα
καὶ Καλυδωνίαν ἐπόρθησε, Βοιωτοῖς δὲ μετὰ μυ-
ρίων στρατιωτῶν βοηθῶν ὑστέρησε τῆς μάχης,
ἣν ὑπὸ Αἰτωλῶν περὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἡττήθησαν, 1034
Ἀβοιωκρίτου τε τοῦ βοιωτάρχου καὶ χιλίων σὺν
2 αὐτῷ πεσόντων. ἐνιαυτῷ δὲ ὕστερον αὖθις στρα-
τηγῶν ἐνίστατο τὴν περὶ τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον πρᾶ-
ξιν, οὐ Σικυωνίων οὐδ' Ἀχαιῶν κηδόμενος, ἀλλὰ
κοινήν τινα τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὅλης τυραννίδα, τὴν
Μακεδόνων φρουράν, ἐκεῖθεν ἐξελάσαι διανοού-
3 μενος. Χάρης μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἔν τινι μάχῃ
πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέως στρατηγοὺς εὐτυχήσας
ἔγραψε τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὡς νενικήκοι τῆς
ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχης ἀδελφήν· ταύτην δὲ τὴν
πρᾶξιν οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοι τις ἀδελφὴν προσειπὼν
τῆς Πελοπίδου τοῦ Θηβαίου καὶ Θρασυβούλου
τοῦ Ἀθηναίου τυραννοκτονίας, πλὴν ὅτι τῷ μὴ
πρὸς Ἕλληνας, ἀλλὰ ἐπακτὸν ἀρχὴν γεγονέναι
4 καὶ ἀλλόφυλον αὕτη διήνεγκεν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἰσθ-

him, and I ask you to consider him a friend." These words were seized upon by the envious and malevolent, who vied with one another in writing to Ptolemy many grievous charges against Aratus, so that the king sent an envoy and upbraided him. So great malice and envy attend upon the friendships of kings and tyrants, for which men strive and at which they aim with ardent passion.

XVI. Aratus now, having been chosen general of the Achaean League for the first time, ravaged the opposite territories of Locris and Calydonia, and went to the assistance of the Boeotians with an army of ten thousand men. He came too late, however, for the battle at Chaeroneia, in which the Boeotians were defeated by the Aetolians, with the loss of Aboeocritus, their Boeotarch, and a thousand men. A year later,[1] being general again, he set on foot the enterprise for the recovery of Acrocorinthus,[2] not in the interests of Sicyonians or Achaeans merely, but purposing to drive from that stronghold what held all Hellas in a common subjection,—the Macedonian garrison. Chares the Athenian, having been successful in a battle with the king's generals, wrote to the people of Athens that he had won a battle which was "sister to that at Marathon"; and this enterprise of Aratus may be rightly called a sister of those of Pelopidas the Theban and Thrasybulus the Athenian, in which they slew tyrants, except that it surpassed them in being undertaken, not against Greeks, but against a foreign and alien power. For

[1] In 243 B.C., two years later. The office of general in the League could not be held by the same person in successive years. Cf. chap. xxiv. 4.

[2] The citadel of Corinth.

μός, ἐμφράσσων τὰς θαλάσσας, εἰς ταὐτὸ συνάγει τῷ τόπῳ[1] καὶ συνάπτει τὴν ἤπειρον ἡμῶν, ὁ δὲ Ἀκροκόρινθος, ὑψηλὸν ὄρος, ἐκ μέσης ἀναπεφυκὼς τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὅταν λάβῃ φρουράν, ἐνίσταται καὶ ἀποκόπτει τὴν ἐντὸς Ἰσθμοῦ πᾶσαν ἐπιμιξιῶν τε καὶ παρόδων καὶ στρατειῶν ἐργασίας
5 τε κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ ἕνα κύριον ποιεῖ τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ κατέχοντα φρουρᾷ τὸ χωρίον, ὥστε μὴ παίζοντα δοκεῖν τὸν νεώτερον Φίλιππον, ἀλλ' ἀληθῶς, ἑκάστοτε πέδας τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὴν Κορινθίων πόλιν προσαγορεύειν.

XVII. Πᾶσι μὲν οὖν περιμάχητος ἦν ὁ τόπος ἀεὶ καὶ βασιλεῦσι καὶ δυνάσταις, ἡ δὲ Ἀντιγόνου σπουδὴ περὶ αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἀπέλιπε πάθει τῶν ἐμμανεστάτων ἐρώτων, ἀλλ' ὅλος ἀνήρτητο ταῖς φροντίσιν ὅπως ἀφαιρήσεται δόλῳ τοὺς ἔχοντας,
2 ἐπεὶ φανερῶς ἀνέλπιστος ἦν ἡ ἐπιχείρησις. Ἀλεξάνδρου γάρ, ὑφ' ὃν τὸ χωρίον ἦν, ἀποθανόντος (ὡς λέγεται) φαρμάκοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, Νικαίας δὲ τῆς ἐκείνου γυναικὸς ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων γενομένης καὶ φυλαττούσης τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον, εὐθὺς ὑποπέμπων Δημήτριον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῇ, καὶ γλυκείας ἐλπίδας ἐνδιδοὺς γάμων βασιλικῶν καὶ συμβιώσεως πρὸς οὐκ ἀηδὲς ἐντυχεῖν γυναικὶ
3 πρεσβυτέρᾳ μειράκιον, αὐτὴν μὲν ᾑρήκει, τῷ παιδὶ χρησάμενος ὥσπερ ἄλλῳ τινὶ τῶν δελεασμάτων ἐπ' αὐτῇ, τὸν δὲ τόπον οὐ προϊεμένης, ἀλλ' ἐγκρατῶς φυλαττούσης, ἀμελεῖν προσποιούμενος ἔθυε γάμους αὐτῶν ἐν Κορίνθῳ, καὶ θέας ἐπετέλει καὶ

[1] τῷ τόπῳ Capps: τῷ τόπῳ.

the Isthmus of Corinth, forming a barrier between the seas, brings together the two regions, and thus unites our continent; and when Acrocorinthus, which is a lofty hill springing up at this centre of Greece, is held by a garrison, it hinders and cuts off all the country south of the Isthmus from intercourse, transits, and the carrying on of military expeditions by land and sea, and makes him who controls the place with a garrison sole lord of Greece. Therefore it is thought that the younger Philip of Macedon[1] uttered no jest, but the truth, whenever he called the city of Corinth "the fetters of Greece."

XVII. Accordingly, the place was always an object of great contention among kings and dynasts, but the eagerness of Antigonus to secure it fell nothing short of the most frenzied passion, and he was wholly absorbed in schemes to take it by stratagem from its possessors, since an open attempt upon it was hopeless. For when Alexander,[2] in whose hands the place was, had died of poison given him (it is said) in obedience to Antigonus, and his wife Nicaea had succeeded to his power and was guarding the citadel, Antigonus at once sent his son Demetrius to her in furtherance of his schemes, and by inspiring her with pleasant hopes of a royal marriage and of wedded life with a young man who would be no disagreeable company for an elderly woman, he captured her, using his son for all the world like a bait for her. The citadel, however, she did not give up, but kept it under strong guard. Pretending, therefore, indifference to this, Antigonus celebrated the nuptials of the pair in Corinth, exhibiting

[1] Philip V., 237–179 B.C.
[2] The tyrant of Corinth.

πότους συνῆγε καθ' ἡμέραν, ὡς ἄν τις μάλιστα
παίζειν καὶ σχολάζειν τὴν διάνοιαν ὑφ' ἡδονῆς
4 καὶ φιλοφροσύνης ἀφεικώς. ἐπεὶ δὲ καιρὸς ἦν,
ᾄδοντος Ἀμοιβέως ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ, παρέπεμπε τὴν
Νίκαιαν αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν ἐν φορείῳ κεκοσμη-
μένῳ βασιλικῶς, ἀγαλλομένην τε τῇ τιμῇ καὶ
πορρωτάτω τοῦ μέλλοντος οὖσαν. γενόμενος δὲ
τῆς ὁδοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἐκτροπὴν τὴν ἄνω φέρουσαν,
ἐκείνην μὲν ἐκέλευσε προάγειν εἰς τὸ θέατρον,
αὐτὸς δὲ χαίρειν μὲν Ἀμοιβέα, χαίρειν δὲ τοὺς
γάμους ἐάσας ἀνῄει πρὸς τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον ἁμιλ-
λώμενος παρ' ἡλικίαν· καὶ κεκλεισμένην τὴν πύ-
λην εὑρών, ἔκοπτε τῇ βακτηρίᾳ κελεύων ἀνοίγειν.
5 οἱ δ' ἔνδον ἀνέῳξαν καταπλαγέντες. οὕτω δὲ τοῦ
τόπου κρατήσας, οὐ κατέσχεν αὑτόν, ἀλλ' ἔπινε
παίζων ὑπὸ χαρᾶς ἐν τοῖς στενωποῖς, καὶ δι'
ἀγορᾶς αὐλητρίδας ἔχων καὶ στεφάνους περικεί-
μενος, ἀνὴρ γέρων καὶ τηλικαύταις πραγμάτων
μεταβολαῖς κεχρημένος, ἐκώμαζε δεξιούμενος καὶ
προσαγορεύων τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας. οὕτως ἄρα καὶ
λύπης καὶ φόβου μᾶλλον ἐξίστησι καὶ σάλον
παρέχει τῇ ψυχῇ τὸ χαίρειν ἄνευ λογισμοῦ
παραγινόμενον.

XVIII. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ Ἀντίγονος μέν, ὥσπερ εἴρη-
ται, κτησάμενος τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον ἐφύλαττε,
μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων οἷς ἐπίστευε μάλιστα καὶ Περ- 1035
σαῖον ἐπιστήσας ἄρχοντα τὸν φιλόσοφον. ὁ δὲ
Ἄρατος ἔτι μὲν καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ζῶντος ἐπεχεί-
ρησε τῇ πράξει, γενομένης δὲ συμμαχίας τοῖς
2 Ἀχαιοῖς πρὸς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐπαύσατο. τότε

spectacles and giving banquets every day, as one whom pleasure and kindliness led to think chiefly of mirth and ease. But when the crucial moment came, and as Amoebeus was about to sing in the theatre, he escorted Nicaea in person to the spectacle. She was borne in a litter which had royal trappings, plumed herself on her new honour, and had not the remotest suspicion of what was to happen. Then, arrived at the diverging street that led up to the citadel, Antigonus gave orders that Nicaea should be borne on into the theatre, while he himself, bidding adieu to Amoebeus, and adieu to the nuptials, went up to Acrocorinthus with a speed that belied his years; and, finding the gate locked, he beat upon it with his staff and ordered it to be opened. And the guards within, stupefied, opened it. Thus master of the place, he could not contain himself for joy, but drank and disported himself in the streets, and with music-girls in his train and garlands on his head, old man that he was and acquainted with so great vicissitudes of fortune, revelled through the market-place, greeting and clasping hands with all who met him. Thus we see that neither grief nor fear transports and agitates the soul as much as joy that comes unexpectedly.

XVIII. Antigonus, then, having got Acrocorinthus into his power, as I have said, kept it under guard, putting men there whom he most trusted, and making Persaeus the philosopher their commander. Now Aratus, even while Alexander was still living, had set his hand to the enterprise, but an alliance was made between the Achaeans and Alexander, and he therefore desisted. At the time of which I speak,

δὲ αὖθις ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἑτέραν ἔλαβε τῆς πράξεως ὑπόθεσιν τοιαύτην.

Ἦσαν ἐν Κορίνθῳ τέσσαρες ἀδελφοὶ Σύροι τὸ γένος, ὧν εἷς ὄνομα Διοκλῆς ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ μισθοφορῶν διέτριβεν. οἱ δὲ τρεῖς κλέψαντες βασιλικὸν χρυσίον ἦλθον εἰς Σικυῶνα πρὸς Αἰγίαν τινὰ τραπεζίτην, ᾧ διὰ τὴν ἐργασίαν ὁ Ἄρατος ἐχρῆτο. καὶ μέρος μὲν εὐθὺς διέθεντο τοῦ χρυσίου, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν εἷς αὐτῶν Ἐργῖνος ἐπιφοιτῶν ἡσυχῇ
3 κατήλλαττεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου γενόμενος τῷ Αἰγίᾳ συνήθης, καὶ προαχθεὶς εἰς λόγον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς φρουρᾶς, ἔφη πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀναβαίνων πρὸς τὸ κρημνῶδες ἐντομὴν καθεωρακέναι πλαγίαν, ἄγουσαν ᾗ χθαμαλώτατον ἐπῳκοδόμηται τῷ φρουρίῳ τὸ τεῖχος. προσπαίξαντος δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ Αἰγίου καὶ εἰπόντος· "Εἶτα, ὦ βέλτιστε, διὰ μικρὸν οὕτω χρυσίον ἀνασπᾶτε τὰς βασιλικὰς πράξεις, δυνάμενοι μίαν ὥραν πολλῶν ἀποδόσθαι χρημάτων; ἦ γὰρ οὐχὶ καὶ τοιχωρύχοις καὶ προδόταις ἁλοῦσιν ἅπαξ ἀποθανεῖν ὑπάρχει;"
4 γελάσας ὁ Ἐργῖνος τότε μὲν ὡμολόγησεν ἀποπειρᾶσθαι τοῦ Διοκλέους (τοῖς γὰρ ἄλλοις ἀδελφοῖς μὴ πάνυ τι πιστεύειν), ὀλίγαις δὲ ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἐπανελθὼν συντίθεται τὸν Ἄρατον ἄξειν πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος, ὅπου τὸ ὕψος οὐ μεῖζον ἦν πεντεκαίδεκα ποδῶν, καὶ τἆλλα συμπράξειν μετὰ τοῦ Διοκλέους.

XIX. Ὁ δὲ Ἄρατος ἐκείνοις μὲν ἑξήκοντα τάλαντα δώσειν κατορθώσας ὡμολόγησεν, ἢν δὲ ἀποτύχῃ, σωθῇ δὲ μετ' ἐκείνων, οἰκίαν ἑκατέρῳ καὶ τάλαντον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδει παρὰ τῷ Αἰγίᾳ τὰ ἑξήκοντα τάλαντα κεῖσθαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἐργῖνον,

however, a new and fresh basis for the enterprise was found by him in the following circumstances.

There were in Corinth four brothers, Syrians by race, one of whom, Diocles by name, was serving as a mercenary soldier in the citadel. The other three, after stealing some gold plate of the king's, came to Aegias, a banker in Sicyon with whom Aratus did business. A portion of the gold they disposed of to him at once, but the remainder was being quietly exchanged by one of them, Erginus, in frequent visits. Erginus thus became well acquainted with Aegias, and having been led by him into conversation about the garrison in the citadel, said that as he was going up to see his brother he had noticed in the face of the cliff a slanting fissure leading to where the wall of the citadel was at its lowest. Thereupon Aegias fell to jesting with him, and said: "Do you, then, best of men, thus for the sake of a little gold plate rifle the king's treasures, when it is in your power to sell a single hour's work for large sums of money? Don't you know that burglars as well as traitors, if they are caught, have only one death to die?" Erginus burst out laughing, and as a first step agreed to make trial of Diocles (saying that he had no confidence at all in his other brothers), and a few days afterwards came back and bargained to conduct Aratus to the wall at a spot where it was not more than fifteen feet in height, and to aid in the rest of the enterprise together with Diocles.

XIX. Aratus on his part agreed to give the men sixty talents if he was successful, and in case he failed, and he as well as they got off safely, to give each of them a house and a talent. Then, since the sixty talents had to be deposited with Aegias for

ὁ δὲ Ἄρατος οὔτε αὐτὸς εἶχεν οὔτε ἐβούλετο δανειζόμενος αἴσθησιν ἑτέρῳ τῆς πράξεως παρασχεῖν, λαβὼν τῶν ἐκπωμάτων τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τὰ χρυσία τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπέθηκε τῷ Αἰγίᾳ πρὸς τὸ
2 ἀργύριον. οὕτω γὰρ ἐπῆρτο τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τοσοῦτον ἔρωτα τῶν καλῶν πράξεων εἶχεν, ὥστε τὸν Φωκίωνα καὶ τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἐπιστάμενος Ἑλλήνων δικαιοτάτους καὶ κρατίστους γεγονέναι δοκοῦντας ἐπὶ τῷ διώσασθαι δωρεὰς μεγάλας καὶ μὴ προέσθαι χρημάτων τὸ καλόν, αὐτὸς εἰς ταῦτα δαπανᾶσθαι κρύφα καὶ προεισφέρειν, ἐν οἷς ἐκινδύνευε μόνος ὑπὲρ πάντων οὐδὲ εἰδότων τὰ πραττόμενα, ᾑρεῖτο.
3 τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσειε καὶ συναγωνίσαιτο ἔτι νῦν τῇ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὠνουμένου χρημάτων τοσούτων κίνδυνον τηλικοῦτον, καὶ τὰ τιμιώτατα δοκοῦντα τῶν κτημάτων ὑποτιθέντος, ὅπως παρεισαχθεὶς νυκτὸς εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους διαγωνίσηται περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, ἐνέχυρον λαβὼν τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ καλοῦ παρ' αὐτῶν, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδέν;

XX. Οὖσαν δὲ καθ' αὑτὴν ἐπισφαλῆ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐπισφαλεστέραν ἐποίησεν ἁμαρτία τις εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ συμβᾶσα δι' ἄγνοιαν. ὁ γὰρ οἰκέτης τοῦ Ἀράτου Τέχνων ἐπέμφθη μὲν ὡς μετὰ τοῦ Διοκλέους κατασκεψόμενος τὸ τεῖχος, οὔπω δ' ἦν τῷ Διοκλεῖ πρότερον ἐντετυχηκὼς κατ' ὄψιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μορφὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ εἶδος δοκῶν κατέχειν ἐξ ὧν ὁ Ἐργῖνος ἐπεσήμηνεν οὐλοκόμην καὶ μελάγ-
2 χρουν καὶ ἀγένειον. ἐλθὼν οὖν[1] ὅπου συνετέ-

[1] ἀγένειον. ἐλθὼν οὖν Coraës and Ziegler, with the MSS.: ἀγένειον, ἐλθών.

Erginus, and Aratus neither had them himself nor was willing by borrowing them to give anyone else a suspicion of his undertaking, he took most of his plate and his wife's golden ornaments and deposited them with Aegias as security for the money. For he was so exalted in spirit and had so great a passion for noble deeds that, knowing as he did that Phocion and Epaminondas were reputed to have been the justest and best of Greeks because they spurned great gifts and would not betray their honour for money, he elected to expend his own substance secretly, as an advance, on an enterprise in which he alone was risking his life for the whole body of citizens, who did not even know what was going on. For who will not admire the magnanimity of the man, and yearn even now to lend a helping hand, who purchased at so high a price so great a danger, and pledged what he thought the most precious of his possessions in order that he might be introduced by night among his enemies and contend for his life, receiving as his security from his countrymen the hope of a noble action, and nothing else?

XX. Now the enterprise was dangerous in itself, but was made more dangerous still by a mistake which occurred at the very beginning through ignorance. For Technon, the servant of Aratus, had been sent to inspect the wall with Diocles, and had not yet met Diocles face to face, but thought he would know how he looked because Erginus had described him as curly-haired, of a swarthy complexion, and without a beard. Having come, therefore, to the place appointed, he was

*τακτο, τὸν Ἐργῖνον ὡς ἀφιξόμενον μετὰ τοῦ
Διοκλέους ἀνέμενε πρὸ τῆς πόλεως πρὸ τοῦ καλου-
μένου Ὄρνιθος. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ πρῶτος ἀδελφὸς
Ἐργίνου καὶ Διοκλέους ὄνομα Διονύσιος οὐ συν-
ειδὼς τὴν πρᾶξιν οὐδὲ κοινωνῶν, ὅμοιος δὲ τῷ
Διοκλεῖ, προσῄει κατὰ τύχην. ὁ δὲ Τέχνων πρὸς
τὰ σημεῖα τῆς μορφῆς τῇ ὁμοιότητι κινηθεὶς* 1036
ἠρώτησε τὸν ἄνθρωπον εἴ τι συμβόλαιον αὐτῷ
3 *πρὸς Ἐργῖνον εἴη. φήσαντος δὲ ἀδελφὸν εἶναι,
παντάπασιν ὁ Τέχνων ἐπείσθη τῷ Διοκλεῖ διαλέ-
γεσθαι· καὶ μήτε τοὔνομα πυθόμενος μήτ' ἄλλο
μηδὲν προσμείνας τεκμήριον ἐμβάλλει τε τὴν
δεξιὰν αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ τῶν συγκειμένων πρὸς τὸν
Ἐργῖνον ἐλάλει κἀκεῖνον ἀνέκρινεν. ὁ δὲ δεξά-
μενος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν πανούργως ὡμολόγει
τε πάντα καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἀναστρέψας ὑπῆγεν*
4 *ἀνυπόπτως διαλεγόμενος. ἤδη δὲ πλησίον ὄντος
αὐτοῦ καὶ μέλλοντος ὅσον οὔπω τὸν Τέχνωνα
διαλαμβάνειν, ἀπὸ τύχης αὖ πάλιν ὁ Ἐργῖνος
αὐτοῖς ἀπήντησεν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τὴν ἀπάτην καὶ
τὸν κίνδυνον διὰ νεύματος ἐδήλωσε τῷ Τέχνωνι
φεύγειν· καὶ ἀποπηδήσαντες ἀμφότεροι δρόμῳ
πρὸς τὸν Ἄρατον ἀπεσώθησαν. οὐ μὴν ἀπέκαμε
ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐκεῖνος, ἀλλ' ἔπεμψεν εὐθὺς τὸν
Ἐργῖνον χρυσίον τε τῷ Διονυσίῳ κομίζοντα καὶ*
5 *δεησόμενον αὐτοῦ σιωπᾶν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἐποίησε
καὶ τὸν Διονύσιον ἄγων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ πρὸς τὸν
Ἄρατον ἦλθεν. ἐλθόντα δὲ αὐτὸν οὐκέτι διῆκαν,
ἀλλὰ δήσαντες ἐφύλαττον ἐν οἰκίσκῳ κατακε-
κλεισμένον· αὐτοὶ δὲ παρεσκευάζοντο πρὸς τὴν
ἐπίθεσιν.*

XXI. *Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦν ἕτοιμα πάντα, τὴν μὲν ἄλλην*

waiting for Erginus to come there with Diocles, just outside the city, near what was called the Ornis. As he was waiting, however, the oldest brother of Erginus and Diocles, named Dionysius, who was not privy to the enterprise and took no part in it, but resembled Diocles, chanced to come up. So Technon, moved by the similarity in the marks of his outward appearance, asked him if he was connected at all with Erginus; and on his saying that he was a brother, Technon was altogether convinced that he was talking with Diocles, and without inquiring his name, or waiting for any other proof whatever, gave him his hand and began chatting with him and asking him questions about what had been agreed upon with Erginus. Dionysius took cunning advantage of his mistake, assented to all that he said, and turning his back towards the city led him along in unsuspicious conversation. But just as he was near the city, and was at the very point of seizing Technon, by a second chance Erginus met them. Erginus comprehended the trick and the danger, motioned Technon to fly, and both of them ran off and got safely to Aratus. Aratus, however, would not give up hope, but at once sent Erginus to bribe Dionysius and beg him to hold his tongue. Erginus not only did this, but actually brought Dionysius with him to Aratus. And now that Dionysius was there they would not let him go, but bound him and kept him indoors under lock and key, while they themselves prepared for their attack.

XXI. When all things were ready, Aratus ordered

δύναμιν ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων νυκτερεύειν, ἀναλαβὼν δὲ λογάδας τετρακοσίους οὐδ' αὐτοὺς εἰδότας τὰ πραττόμενα, πλὴν ὀλίγων, ἦγε πρὸς τὰς πύλας παρὰ τὸ Ἡραῖον. ἦν δὲ τοῦ ἔτους ἡ περὶ θέρος ἀκμάζον ὥρα, τοῦ δὲ μηνὸς πανσέληνος, ἡ δὲ νὺξ ἀνέφελος καὶ καταφανής, ὥστε καὶ φόβον τὰ ὅπλα παρέχειν ἀντιλάμποντα πρὸς
2 τὴν σελήνην, μὴ τοὺς φύλακας οὐ λάθωσιν. ἤδη δὲ τῶν πρώτων ἐγγὺς ὄντων ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀνέδραμε νέφη καὶ κατέσχε τήν τε πόλιν αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν ἔξω τόπον ἐπίσκιον γενόμενον. ἐνταῦθα δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι συγκαθίσαντες ὑπελύοντο τὰς κρηπῖδας· οὔτε γὰρ ψόφον ποιοῦσι πολὺν οὔτ' ὀλισθήματα λαμβάνουσι γυμνοῖς τοῖς ποσὶν ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι τῶν κλιμάκων· ὁ δὲ Ἐργῖνος ἑπτὰ λαβὼν νεανίσκους ἐσταλμένους ὁδοιπορικῶς ἔλαθε
3 τῇ πύλῃ προσμίξας. καὶ τὸν πυλωρὸν ἀποκτιννύουσι καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ φύλακας. ἅμα δὲ αἵ τε κλίμακες προσετίθεντο καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν ὁ Ἄρατος ὑπερβιβάσας ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἕπεσθαι κελεύσας ὡς ἂν δύνωνται τάχιστα, τὰς κλίμακας ἀναρπάσας ἐχώρει διὰ τῆς πόλεως μετὰ τῶν ἑκατὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν, ἤδη περιχαρὴς διὰ τὸ λανθάνειν ὡς κατορθῶν.

4 Καί πως ἔτι πρόσωθεν αὐτοῖς ἀπήντα σὺν φωτὶ φυλακὴ τεσσάρων ἀνδρῶν οὐ καθορωμένοις· ἔτι γὰρ ἦσαν ἐν τῷ σκιαζομένῳ τῆς σελήνης· ἐκείνους δὲ προσιόντας ἐξ ἐναντίας καθορῶσι. μικρὸν οὖν ὑποστείλας τειχίοις τισὶ καὶ οἰκοπέδοις, ἐνέδραν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας καθίζει. καὶ τρεῖς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐμπεσόντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν, ὁ δὲ τέταρτος πληγεὶς ξίφει τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔφυγε, βοῶν ἔνδον εἶναι

the rest of his forces to pass the night under arms, and taking with him four hundred picked men, few of whom knew what was on foot themselves, led them towards the gate of Corinth near by the temple of Hera. It was midsummer, the moon was at its full, and the night was cloudless and clear, so that they feared lest the gleam of their arms in the moonlight should disclose them to the sentinels. But just as the foremost of them were near the wall, clouds ran up from the sea and enveloped the city itself and the region outside, which thus became dark. Then the rest of them sat down and took off their shoes, since men make little noise and do not slip if they are barefooted when they climb ladders; but Erginus, taking with him seven young men equipped as travellers, got unnoticed to the gate. Here they slew the gate-keeper and the sentries who were with him. At the same time the ladders were clapped to the wall, and after getting a hundred men over in all haste, Aratus ordered the rest to follow as fast as they could; then he pulled his ladders up after him and marched through the city with his hundred men against the citadel, being already full of joy at his escape from detection and confident of success.

A little farther on they encountered a watch of four men with a light; they were not seen by them, being still in the shade of the moon, but saw them coming up in the opposite direction. So they drew back a little for shelter beneath some walls and buildings, and set an ambush for the men. Three of them they killed in their attack, but the fourth, with a sword-wound in his head, took to flight, crying

5 τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν αἵ τε σάλπιγγες ἐπεσήμαινον, ἥ τε πόλις ἐξανίστατο πρὸς τὰ γινόμενα, πλήρεις τε ἦσαν οἱ στενωποὶ διαθεόντων, καὶ φῶτα πολλά, τὰ μὲν κάτωθεν ἤδη, τὰ δὲ ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας περιέλαμπε, καὶ κραυγὴ συνερρήγνυτο πανταχόθεν ἄσημος.

XXII. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ μὲν Ἄρατος ἐμφὺς τῇ πορείᾳ παρὰ τὸ κρημνῶδες ἡμιλλᾶτο, βραδέως καὶ ταλαιπώρως τὸ πρῶτον, οὐ κατακρατῶν, ἀλλ' ἀποπλανώμενος τοῦ τρίβου παντάπασιν ἐνδεδυκότος καὶ πεοισκιαζομένου ταῖς τραχύτησι καὶ διὰ πολλῶν ἑλιγμῶν καὶ παραβολῶν περαίνοντος πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος. εἶτα θαυμάσιον οἷον ἡ σελήνη λέγεται διαστέλλουσα τὰ νέφη καὶ ὑπολαμποῦσα,[1] τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ χαλεπώτατον σαφηνίζειν, ἕως ἥψατο τοῦ τείχους καθ' ὃν ἔδει τόπον· ἐκεῖ δὲ πάλιν συνεσκίασε καὶ ἀπέκρυψε νεφῶν συνελθόντων.

2 Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὰς πύλας ἔξω περὶ τὸ Ἡραῖον ἀπολειφθέντες τοῦ Ἀράτου στρατιῶται, τριακόσιοι τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες, ὥς ποτε παρεισέπεσον
εἰς τὴν πόλιν θορύβου τε παντοδαποῦ καὶ φώτων 1037
γέμουσαν, οὐ δυνηθέντες ἐξανευρεῖν τὸν αὐτὸν τρίβον οὐδ' εἰς ἴχνος ἐμβῆναι τῆς ἐκείνων πορείας, ἔπτηξαν ἀθρόοι πρός τινι παλινσκίῳ λαγόνι τοῦ κρημνοῦ συστείλαντες ἑαυτούς, καὶ διεκαρτέρουν ἐνταῦθα περιπαθοῦντες καὶ δυσανασχετοῦντες.

3 βαλλομένων γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας ἤδη τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἄρατον καὶ μαχομένων, ἀλαλαγμὸς ἐναγώνιος ἐχώρει κάτω, καὶ κραυγὴ περιήχει, διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν ἀνάκλασιν συγκεχυμένη καὶ ἄδηλος

[1] ὑπολαμποῦσα Coraës and Bekker, adopting an anonymous conjecture: ὑπολαβοῦσα.

out that the enemy were in the city. And presently the trumpets were sounding, the city was in an uproar over what was happening, the streets were full of people running up and down, many lights were flashing, some in the city below and some in the citadel above, and a confused shouting broke forth on all hands.

XXII. Meanwhile Aratus was struggling up the steep with all his might, slowly and laboriously at first, unable to keep to the path and wandering from it, since it was everywhere sunk in the shadows of the jutting cliffs and had many twists and turns before it came out at the wall of the citadel. Then, marvellous to relate, the moon is said to have parted the clouds and shone out, making the most difficult part of the road plain, until he got to the wall at the spot desired; there the clouds came together again and everything was hidden in darkness.

But the soldiers of Aratus whom he had left at the gate outside near the temple of Hera, three hundred in number, when once they had burst into the city and found it full of lights and manifold tumult, were unable to discover the path which their comrades had taken or follow in their steps. So they crouched down and huddled themselves together in a shaded flank of the cliff, and there remained in great distress and impatience. For Aratus and his party were now assailed with missiles from the citadel and were fighting, the shouts of the combatants came down the slopes, and cries echoed round about which the reverberations from

ὅθεν εἴληφε τὴν ἀρχήν. διαπορούντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐφ' ὅ τι χρὴ τραπέσθαι μέρος, Ἀρχέλαος ὁ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἡγεμὼν στρατιώτας ἔχων πολλοὺς μετὰ κραυγῆς ἀνέβαινε καὶ σαλπίγγων, ἐπιφερόμενος τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἄρατον, καὶ παρήλλαττε τοὺς
4 τριακοσίους. οἱ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐξ ἐνέδρας ἀναστάντες ἐμβάλλουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ διαφθείρουσιν οἷς ἐπέθεντο πρώτοις, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους καὶ τὸν Ἀρχέλαον φοβήσαντες ἐτρέψαντο καὶ κατεδίωξαν ἄχρι τοῦ σκεδασθῆναι περὶ τὴν πόλιν διαλυθέντας. ἄρτι δὲ τούτων νενικηκότων Ἐργῖνος ἀπὸ τῶν ἄνω μαχομένων ἦλθεν, ἀγγέλλων συμπεπλέχθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸν Ἄρατον ἀμυνομένοις εὐρώστως, καὶ μέγαν ἀγῶνα περὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος εἶναι, καὶ τάχους
5 δεῖν τῆς βοηθείας. οἱ δὲ εὐθὺς ἐκέλευον ἡγεῖσθαι· καὶ προσβαίνοντες ἅμα φωνῇ διεσήμαινον ἑαυτούς, ἐπιθαρρύνοντες τοὺς φίλους· ἥ τε πανσέληνος ἀπέφαινε τὰ ὅπλα πλείονα φαινόμενα τοῖς πολεμίοις διὰ τὸ μῆκος τῆς πορείας, καὶ τὸ τῆς νυκτὸς ἠχῶδες τὸν ἀλαλαγμὸν ἀπὸ πολλαπλασιόνων ἢ
6 τοσούτων ἐποίει δοκεῖν φέρεσθαι. τέλος δὲ συνερείσαντες ἐξωθοῦσι τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ καθυπέρτεροι τῆς ἄκρας ἦσαν καὶ τὸ φρούριον εἶχον, ἡμέρας ἤδη διαυγούσης, ὅ τε ἥλιος εὐθὺς ἐπέλαμπε τῷ ἔργῳ, καὶ παρῆν ἐκ Σικυῶνος ἡ λοιπὴ δύναμις τῷ Ἀράτῳ, δεχομένων κατὰ πύλας τῶν Κορινθίων προθύμως καὶ τοὺς βασιλικοὺς συλλαμβανόντων.

XXIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀσφαλῶς ἐδόκει πάντα ἔχειν, κατέβαινεν εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρας, πλήθους

the hills rendered confused and of uncertain origin. Then, as they were at a loss which way to turn, Archelaüs, the commander of the king's forces, having many soldiers with him, made up the ascent amid shouts and the blare of trumpets to attack Aratus and his party, and thus passed by the three hundred. These, rising up from ambush as it were, fell upon him, slew the first whom they attacked, put the rest, together with Archelaüs, to panic flight, and pursued them until they were scattered and dispersed about the city. And just as this victory had been won, Erginus came from the party fighting on the heights, with tidings that Aratus was engaged with the enemy, that these were defending themselves vigorously, that a great struggle was going on at the very wall, and there was need of speedy help. The three hundred at once ordered him to lead the way; and as they took to the ascent their cries signalled their coming and encouraged their friends; the light of the full moon also made their arms appear more numerous to the enemy than they really were, owing to the length of their line of march, and the echoes of the night gave the impression that the shouts proceeded from many times the number of men there really were. At last, with a united onset, they repulsed the enemy, mastered the citadel, and held its garrison in their power. Day was now breaking, the sun at once shone out upon their success, and the rest of the forces of Aratus came up from Sicyon, the Corinthians readily receiving them by the gates and helping them to seize the king's soldiers.

XXIII. When everything appeared to be safe Aratus came down from the citadel into the theatre

ἀπείρου συρρέοντος ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῆς τε ὄψεως αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν λόγων οἷς ἔμελλε χρῆσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Κορινθίους.
2 ἐπιστήσας δὲ ταῖς παρόδοις ἑκατέρωθεν τοὺς Ἀχαιούς, αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῆς σκηνῆς εἰς μέσον προῆλθε, τεθωρακισμένος καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ διὰ τὸν κόπον καὶ τὴν ἀγρυπνίαν ἠλλοιωμένος, ὥστε τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ γαυρούμενον καὶ χαῖρον ὑπὸ τῆς
3 περὶ τὸ σῶμα βαρύτητος κατακρατεῖσθαι. τῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἅμα τῷ προσελθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκχυθέντων ταῖς φιλοφροσύναις, μεταλαβὼν εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν τὸ δόρυ, καὶ τὸ γόνυ καὶ τὸ σῶμα τῇ ῥοπῇ μικρὸν ἐγκλίνας καὶ ἀπερεισάμενος, εἱστήκει πολὺν χρόνον σιωπῇ δεχόμενος αὐτῶν τοὺς κρότους καὶ τὰς ἐπιβοήσεις, ἐπαινούντων μὲν τὴν ἀρετήν,
4 ζηλούντων δὲ τὴν τύχην. ὡς δὲ ἐπαύσαντο καὶ κατέστησαν, συναγαγὼν ἑαυτὸν διεξῆλθε λόγον ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τῇ πράξει πρέποντα, καὶ συνέπεισε τοὺς Κορινθίους Ἀχαιοὺς γενέσθαι, καὶ τῶν πυλῶν τὰς κλεῖς ἀπέδωκε τότε πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν καιρῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνοις γενομένας. τῶν δὲ Ἀντιγόνου στρατηγῶν Ἀρχέλαον μὲν ἀφῆκεν ὑποχείριον γενόμενον, Θεόφραστον δὲ ἀν-
5 εῖλεν οὐ βουλόμενον ἀπαλλάττεσθαι· Περσαῖος δὲ τῆς ἄκρας ἁλισκομένης εἰς Κεγχρεὰς διεξέπεσεν. ὕστερον δὲ λέγεται σχολάζων πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα μόνον αὐτῷ δοκεῖν στρατηγὸν εἶναι τὸν σοφόν, "Ἀλλὰ νὴ θεούς," φάναι, "τοῦτο μάλιστα κἀμοί ποτε τῶν Ζήνωνος ἤρεσκε δογμάτων· νῦν δὲ μεταβάλλομαι νουθετηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σικυωνίου νεανίου." ταῦτα μὲν περὶ Περσαίου πλείονες ἱστοροῦσιν.

whither an immense multitude streamed with an eager desire to see him and hear what he would say to the Corinthians. After stationing his Achaeans at both the side-entrances, he himself advanced from the back-scene into the orchestra, with his breastplate still on and his countenance altered by toil and loss of sleep, so that the exultation and joy of his spirit were overpowered by the weariness of his body. Since the multitude, when he came forward to address them, were profuse in their friendly expressions, taking his spear in his right hand and slightly inclining his knee and his body, he supported himself upon it and stood thus for a long time silently receiving their applause and acclamations, their praises of his valour and their congratulations on his success. But when they had ceased and quiet had ensued, he summoned his strength and in behalf of the Achaeans made a speech which befitted their exploit, and persuaded the Corinthians to join the Achaean League. He also gave them back the keys to their gates, of which they then became possessed for the first time since the time of Philip of Macedon. Of the officers of Antigonus, he dismissed Archelaüs, who had been taken prisoner, but Theophrastus, who would not quit his post, he slew; as for Persaeus, on the capture of the citadel he made his escape to Cenchreae. And at a later time, as we are told, when he was leading a life of leisure, and someone remarked that in his opinion the wise man only could be a good general, "Indeed," he replied, "there was a time when I too particularly liked this doctrine of Zeno's; but now, since the lesson I got from the young man of Sicyon, I am of another mind." This story of Persaeus is told by many writers.

XXIV. Ὁ δὲ Ἄρατος εὐθὺς τό τε Ἡραῖον ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τὸ Λέχαιον ἐποιήσατο· καὶ νεῶν μὲν 1038 εἰκοσιπέντε βασιλικῶν ἐκυρίευσεν, ἵππους δὲ πεντακοσίους καὶ Σύρους τετρακοσίους ἀπέδοτο· τόν τε Ἀκροκόρινθον ἐφύλαττον οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ τετρακοσίοις ὁπλίταις καὶ πεντήκοντα κυσὶ καὶ κυνηγοῖς ἴσοις ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ τρεφομένοις.

2 Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν Φιλοποίμενα θαυμάζοντες Ἑλλήνων ἔσχατον προσηγόρευον, ὡς μηδενὸς μεγάλου μετ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι γενομένου· ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πράξεων ταύτην ἐσχάτην καὶ νεωτάτην φαίην ἂν πεπρᾶχθαι, τοῦτο μὲν τόλμῃ, τοῦτο δὲ τύχῃ ταῖς ἀρίσταις ἐνάμιλλον, ὡς ἐδήλωσεν εὐθὺς τὰ γινόμενα.

3 Μεγαρεῖς τε γὰρ ἀποστάντες Ἀντιγόνου τῷ Ἀράτῳ προσέθεντο, καὶ Τροιζήνιοι μετὰ Ἐπιδαυρίων συνετάχθησαν εἰς τοὺς Ἀχαιούς, ἔξοδόν τε πρώτην θεμενος εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα διαβὰς ἐλεηλάτησεν, ὥσπερ ἐξ εἱρκτῆς λελυμένῃ τῇ δυνάμει τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐφ᾽ ὅ τι βούλοιτο χρώμενος. Ἀθηναίοις δὲ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἀφῆκεν ἄνευ λύτρων, ἀρχὰς ἀποστάσεως ἐνδιδοὺς

4 αὐτοῖς. Πτολεμαῖον δὲ σύμμαχον ἐποίησε τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἡγεμονίαν ἔχοντα πολέμου καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ θάλατταν. οὕτω δὲ ἴσχυσεν ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, ὥστ᾽, εἰ μὴ κατ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐξῆν, παρ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν αἱρεῖσθαι στρατηγὸν αὐτόν, ἔργῳ δὲ καὶ γνώμῃ διὰ παντὸς ἄρχειν. ἑώρων γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐ πλοῦτον, οὐ δόξαν, οὐ φιλίαν βασιλικήν, οὐ τὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ πατρίδος συμφέρον, οὐκ ἄλλο τι τῆς αὐξήσεως τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπίπροσθεν ποιούμενον.

XXIV. As for Aratus, he at once made himself master of the temple of Hera and the harbour of Lechaeum; he also seized five-and-twenty of the king's ships, and sold five hundred horses and four hundred Syrians; Acrocorinthus, too, was garrisoned by the Achaeans with four hundred men-at-arms, and fifty dogs with as many keepers were maintained in the citadel.

Now the Romans, in their admiration of Philopoemen, call him "the last of the Greeks," implying that no great man arose among the Greeks after him; but I should say that this capture of Acrocorinthus was the very last and latest achievement of the Greeks, and that it rivalled their best, not only in daring, but also in happy results, as events at once showed. For Megara seceded from Antigonus and attached herself to Aratus; Troezen and Epidaurus were enrolled in the Achaean League; and Aratus, making a distant expedition for the first time, invaded Attica, and crossing the strait plundered Salamis, his Achaean forces, as though released from prison, obeying his every wish. But the freemen among his prisoners he sent back to the Athenians without ransom, thus laying a foundation for their revolt from Antigonus. He also made Ptolemy an ally of the Achaeans, with the leadership in war on land and sea. And he was so influential among the Achaeans that, since it was not permissible every year, they chose him general every other year, though, in fact, his wisdom made him their leader all the time. For they saw that he put first and foremost, not wealth, not fame, not friendship with kings, not his own native city's advantage, but only the growth in power of the Achaean League. For he considered

5 ἡγεῖτο γὰρ ἀσθενεῖς ἰδίᾳ τὰς πόλεις ὑπαρχούσας
σώζεσθαι δι᾽ ἀλλήλων ὥσπερ ἐνδεδεμένας τῷ
κοινῷ συμφέροντι, καὶ καθάπερ τὰ μέρη τοῦ
σώματος ζῶντα καὶ συμπνέοντα διὰ τὴν πρὸς
ἄλληλα συμφυΐαν, ὅταν ἀποσπασθῇ καὶ γένηται
χωρίς, ἀτροφεῖ καὶ σήπεται, παραπλησίως τὰς
πόλεις ἀπόλλυσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν διασπώντων
τὸ κοινόν, αὔξεσθαι δὲ ὑπ᾽ ἀλλήλων, ὅταν ὅλου
τινὸς μεγάλου μέρη γενόμεναι κοινῆς προνοίας
τυγχάνωσιν.

XXV. Ὁρῶν δὲ τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν προσοί-
κων αὐτονομουμένους, Ἀργείοις δὲ δουλεύουσιν
ἀχθόμενος, ἐπεβούλευεν ἀνελεῖν τὸν τύραννον
αὐτῶν Ἀριστόμαχον, ἅμα τῇ τε πόλει θρεπτήρια
τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀποδοῦναι φιλοτιμούμενος καὶ
2 τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς προσκομίσαι τὴν πόλιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν
τολμῶντες εὑρέθησαν, ὧν Αἰσχύλος προειστήκει
καὶ Χαριμένης ὁ μάντις· ξίφη δὲ οὐκ εἶχον, ἀλλ᾽
ἀπείρητο κεκτῆσθαι καὶ ζημίαι μεγάλαι τοῖς κεκτη-
μένοις ἐπῆσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου. κατασκευάσας
οὖν ὁ Ἄρατος αὐτοῖς ἐν Κορίνθῳ μικρὰς παραξιφί-
δας ἐνέρραψεν εἰς σάγματα· καὶ ταῦτα περιθεὶς
ὑποζυγίοις σκεύη τινὰ παρημελημένα κομίζουσιν
3 εἰς Ἄργος ἀπέστειλε. Χαριμένους δὲ τοῦ μάντεως
προσλαβόντος ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἄνθρωπον, οἱ περὶ
τὸν Αἰσχύλον ἠγανάκτησαν καὶ δι᾽ ἑαυτῶν ἔπραττ-
τον, τοῦ Χαριμένους καταγνόντες. αἰσθόμενος
δὲ ἐκεῖνος ὀργῇ κατεμήνυσε τοὺς ἄνδρας ἤδη
βαδίζοντας ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον· ὧν οἱ πλεῖστοι
φθάσαντες ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἀπέφυγον καὶ διεξέπεσον
εἰς Κόρινθον.

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[1] Cf. chap. iii. 1.

that the Greek states which were weak would be preserved by mutual support when once they had been bound as it were by the common interest, and that just as the members of the body have a common life and breath because they cleave together in a common growth, but when they are drawn apart and become separate they wither away and decay, in like manner the several states are ruined by those who dissever their common bonds, but are augmented by mutual support, when they become parts of a great whole and enjoy a common foresight.

XXV. And so, since he saw that the best of the neighbouring peoples were autonomous, and was distressed at the servitude of the Argives, he plotted to kill Aristomachus the tyrant of Argos, being ambitious to restore its freedom to the city as a reward for the rearing it had given him,[1] as well as to attach it to the Achaean League. Accordingly, men were found to dare the deed, of whom Aeschylus and Charimenes the seer were the chief. They had no swords, however, the tyrant having prohibited the possession of them under heavy penalties. Aratus, therefore, ordered small daggers to be made for them in Corinth and sewed them up in pack-saddles; these he put upon beasts of burden carrying ordinary wares and sent them into Argos. But Charimenes the seer took on a partner in the enterprise, at which Aeschylus and his friends were incensed and proceeded to act on their own account, ignoring Charimenes. When Charimenes was aware of this, he was angry and informed against the men just as they were setting out to attack the tyrant; most of them, however, succeeded in escaping from the market-place and fled to Corinth.

4 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ χρόνου βραχέος διελθόντος ἀπο-
θνήσκει μὲν ὑπὸ δούλων Ἀριστόμαχος, ὑπο-
λαμβάνει δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν φθάσας Ἀρίστιππος,
ἐξωλέστερος ἐκείνου τύραννος. ὅσοι δὴ τῶν
Ἀχαιῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ παρόντες ἔτυχον, τούτους
ἀναλαβὼν ὁ Ἄρατος ἐβοήθει πρὸς τὴν πόλιν
ὀξέως, οἰόμενος εὑρήσειν τὰ τῶν Ἀργείων πρό-
5 θυμα. τῶν δὲ πολλῶν ἤδη διὰ συνήθειαν ἐθελο-
δούλως ἐχόντων καὶ μηδενὸς ἀφισταμένου πρὸς
αὐτόν, ἀνεχώρησεν ἔγκλημα κατεσκευακὼς τοῖς
Ἀχαιοῖς ὡς ἐν εἰρήνῃ πόλεμον ἐξενηνοχόσι. καὶ
δίκην ἔσχον ἐπὶ τούτῳ παρὰ Μαντινεῦσιν, ἣν 1039
Ἀράτου μὴ παρόντος Ἀρίστιππος εἷλε διώκων
6 καὶ μνῶν ἐτιμήθη τριάκοντα. τὸν δὲ Ἄρατον
αὐτὸν ἅμα καὶ μισῶν καὶ δεδοικὼς ἐπεβούλευεν
ἀνελεῖν συνεργοῦντος Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ βασιλέως·
καὶ πανταχοῦ σχεδὸν ἦσαν οἱ τοῦτο πράττοντες
αὐτοῖς καὶ καιρὸν ἐπιτηροῦντες.
7 Ἀλλ' οὐδὲν οἷον ἀληθινὴ καὶ βέβαιος εὔνοια
φυλακτήριον ἀνδρὸς ἄρχοντος. ὅταν γὰρ ἐθισθῶ-
σιν οἵ τε πολλοὶ καὶ οἱ δυνατοὶ μὴ τὸν ἡγούμενον,
ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἡγουμένου δεδιέναι, πολλοῖς μὲν
ὄμμασιν ὁρᾷ, διὰ πολλῶν δὲ ὤτων ἀκούει, καὶ
προαισθάνεται τὰ γινόμενα. διὸ καὶ βούλομαι
τὸν λόγον ἐπιστήσας ἐνταῦθά που διεξελθεῖν
περὶ τῆς Ἀριστίππου διαίτης, ἣν ἡ ζηλοτυπου-
μένη τυραννὶς αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ τῆς μακαρίας καὶ
περιβοήτου μοναρχίας ὄγκος περιέθηκεν.

XXVI. Ἐκεῖνος γὰρ Ἀντίγονον μὲν ἔχων

Nevertheless, after a little while Aristomachus was killed by slaves, and Aristippus, a more pernicious tyrant than he, soon succeeded in seizing the power. Aratus at once took all the Achaeans of military age who were at hand and went swiftly to the aid of the city, supposing that he would be welcomed by the Argives. But since most of them were by this time habituated to slavery and willing to endure it, so that not a man came over to his side, he retired, after involving the Achaeans in the charge of having gone to war in time of peace. They were prosecuted on this charge before the Mantineans, and in the absence of Aratus, Aristippus as plaintiff won his case and was awarded damages to the amount of thirty minas.[1] Aratus himself the tyrant both hated and feared, and so laid plots to kill him with the assistance of Antigonus the king; and almost everywhere there were men who undertook this deed for them and watched for an opportunity.

But there is no safeguard for a ruler like a sincere and steadfast goodwill on the part of the ruled. For when both the common people and the leading men are afraid, not of their leader, but for their leader, he sees with many eyes, hears with many ears, and so perceives betimes what is going on. Therefore I wish to stop my story at this point, in order to describe the life that Aristippus led. This was laid upon him by his office of tyrant, so envied of men, and by the pride and pomp of monarchy, which men celebrate and call blessed.

XXVI. For though he had Antigonus as ally, and

[1] Half a talent, equivalent to about £118, or $600, a merely nominal fine. Mantineia acted as arbitrator, perhaps by special agreement.

σύμμαχον, τρέφων δὲ πολλοὺς ἕνεκα τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀσφαλείας, οὐδένα δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ζῶντα τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑπολελοιπώς, τοὺς μὲν δορυφόρους καὶ φύλακας ἔξω παρεμβάλλειν ἐκέ-
2 λευεν ἐν τῷ περιστύλῳ, τοὺς δὲ οἰκέτας, ὁπότε δειπνήσαι, τάχιστα πάντας ἐξελαύνων καὶ τὴν μέταυλον ἀποκλείων μετὰ τῆς ἐρωμένης αὐτὸς εἰς οἴκημα κατεδύετο μικρὸν ὑπερῷον, θύρᾳ καταρρακτῇ κλειόμενον· ἧς ὑπεράνω τὴν κλίνην ἐπιτιθεὶς ἐκάθευδεν, ὡς εἰκὸς καθεύδειν τὸν οὕτως
3 ἔχοντα, ταραχωδῶς καὶ περιφόβως. τὸ δὲ κλιμάκιον ἡ τῆς ἐρωμένης μήτηρ ὑφαιροῦσα κατέκλειεν εἰς ἕτερον οἴκημα, καὶ πάλιν ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ προσετίθει καὶ κατεκάλει τὸν θαυμαστὸν τύραννον, ὥσπερ ἑρπετὸν ἐκ φωλεοῦ κατερχόμενον. ὁ δὲ οὐχ ὅπλοις κατὰ βίαν, νόμῳ δὲ ὑπ' ἀρετῆς ἀκατάπαυστον ἀρχὴν περιπεποιημένος, ἐν ἱματίῳ καὶ χλαμυδίῳ τῷ τυχόντι, τῶν πώποτε τυράννων κοινὸς ἀποδεδειγμένος ἐχθρός, ἄχρι τῆς τήμερον ἡμέρας γένος εὐδοκιμώτατον ἀπολέλοιπεν ἐν τοῖς
4 Ἕλλησιν. ἐκείνων δὲ τῶν τὰς ἄκρας καταλαμβανόντων καὶ τοὺς δορυφόρους τρεφόντων καὶ τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὰς πύλας καὶ τοὺς καταρράκτας προβαλλομένων ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀσφαλείας ὀλίγοι τὸν ἐκ πληγῆς θάνατον, ὥσπερ οἱ λαγωοί, διέφυγον· οἶκος δὲ ἢ γένος ἢ τάφος ἔχων τιμωμένην μνήμην οὐδενὸς λέλειπται.

XXVII. Πρὸς δ' οὖν τὸν Ἀρίστιππον ὁ Ἄρατος καὶ κρύφα πολλάκις καὶ φανερῶς προσέπταισεν ἐπιχειρήσας καταλαμβάνειν τὸ Ἄργος. ἅπαξ δὲ κλίμακας προσθεὶς μετ' ὀλίγων ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀνέβη παραβόλως, καὶ τοὺς βοηθοῦντας

kept many guards to protect his person, and had left no single enemy alive in the city, yet he would order his spearmen and guards to bivouac outside in the colonnade; and as for his servants, as soon as supper was over he would drive them all out. Then he would lock the doors of the inner house, and betake himself with his mistress to a little upper room, which was closed by a trap-door; on this door he would place his couch and sleep, as one in his state of mind would naturally sleep, by fits and starts and in great fear. The ladder the mother of his mistress would take away and lock up in another room, and in the morning would put it in place again and call the wonderful tyrant, who would come down like a creeping thing out of its hole. Aratus, on the other hand, not by force of arms, but legally and in consequence of his virtues, had invested himself with an enduring power, and yet went about in ordinary tunic and cloak; he declared himself a public foe of any and every tyrant; and he left behind him a posterity of the highest repute among the Greeks down to this day.[1] But of the men who seize citadels, maintain spearmen, and depend upon arms and gates and trap-doors for the safety of their persons, only a few, like timorous hares, have escaped a violent death; while not one of them has left a house, or a family, or a tomb to keep his memory in honour.

XXVII. Against Aristippus, then, and in trying to seize Argos, Aratus made many open and secret attempts in vain. Once he set up scaling-ladders, at great hazard got upon the wall with a few followers, and killed the sentries that defended the

[1] Cf. chap. liv. *ad fin.*

2 ἐνταῦθα τῶν φυλάκων ἀπέκτεινεν. εἶτα ἡμέρας
ἐπιφανείσης καὶ τοῦ τυράννου πανταχόθεν αὐτῷ
προσβάλλοντος, οἱ μὲν Ἀργεῖοι, καθάπερ οὐχ
ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνων ἐλευθερίας τῆς μάχης οὔσης, ἀλλ'
ὡς τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Νεμείων βραβεύοντες, ἴσοι καὶ
δίκαιοι θεαταὶ καθῆντο τῶν γινομένων, πολλὴν
ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντες, ὁ δὲ Ἄρατος εὐρώστως ἀμυνό-
μενος λόγχῃ μὲν ἐκ χειρὸς διελαύνεται τὸν μηρόν,
ἐκράτησε δὲ τῶν τόπων ἐν οἷς ἦν, καὶ οὐκ ἐξεώσθη
μέχρι νυκτὸς ἐνοχλούμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων.
3 εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν νύκτα τῷ πόνῳ προσεταλαιπώρησεν,
οὐκ ἂν διήμαρτεν· ὁ γὰρ τύραννος ἤδη περὶ δρα-
σμὸν εἶχε καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπὶ θάλασσαν
προεξέπεμψε· νῦν δὲ τοῦτο μὲν οὐδενὸς ἐξαγ-
γείλαντος πρὸς τὸν Ἄρατον, ὕδατος δὲ ἐπιλι-
πόντος, ἑαυτῷ δὲ χρήσασθαι διὰ τὸ τραῦμα μὴ
δυνάμενος, ἀπήγαγε τοὺς στρατιώτας.

XXVIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτην ἀπέγνω τὴν ὁδόν,
ἐμβαλὼν φανερῶς τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τὴν Ἀργολίδα
χώραν ἐπόρθει· καὶ περὶ τὸν Χάρητα ποταμὸν
ἰσχυρᾶς μάχης γενομένης πρὸς Ἀρίστιππον
αἰτίαν ἔσχεν ὡς ἐγκαταλιπὼν τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ
προέμενος τὸ νίκημα. τῆς γὰρ ἄλλης δυνάμεως 104
ὁμολογουμένως ἐπικρατούσης καὶ τῷ διωγμῷ
πολὺ προελθούσης εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν, αὐτὸς οὐχ
οὕτως ἐκβιασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν καθ' αὑτόν, ὡς ἀπι-
στῶν τῷ κατορθώματι καὶ φοβηθείς, ἀνεχώρησε
2 τεταραγμένος εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπὸ
τῆς διώξεως ἐπανελθόντες οἱ λοιποὶ χαλεπῶς
ἔφερον ὅτι τρεψάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ
πολὺ πλείονας ἐκείνων καταβαλόντες ἢ σφῶν
αὐτῶν ἀπολέσαντες παραλελοίπασι τοῖς ἡττη-

place. Then day came and the tyrant attacked him from all sides, while the Argives, as though it were not a battle to secure their liberties, but a contest in the Nemean games of which they were the judges, sat as just and impartial spectators of what was going on, without lifting a finger. Aratus, fighting sturdily, had his thigh transfixed by a spear-thrust, yet held his ground, and could not be dislodged at close quarters until night, though harassed by his enemies. And if through the night also he had maintained the struggle, he would not have failed in his attempt; for the tyrant was already bent on flight and had sent on many of his goods to the sea. As it was, however, no one told Aratus of this, and since water was failing him and he could not use his strength by reason of his wound, he led his soldiers away.

XXVIII. Then, since he despaired of success in this way, he openly invaded the territory of Argos with his army and ravaged it; and in a fierce battle with Aristippus at the river Chares, he was accused of abandoning the struggle and throwing away the victory. For although the rest of his forces admittedly had the upper hand and had gone far on ahead in pursuit, he himself, not so much because he was ousted from his position by his opponents, as out of mistrust of success and in utter fear, withdrew in disorder to his camp. But when the rest of his army came back from the pursuit and were indignant because, though they had routed the enemy and slain far more of them than they had lost of their own number, they had suffered the vanquished to

*μένοις στῆσαι κατ' αὐτῶν τρόπαιον, αἰσχυνθεὶς
πάλιν ἔγνω διαμάχεσθαι περὶ τοῦ τροπαίου, καὶ
μίαν ἡμέραν διαλιπὼν αὖθις ἐξέτασσε τὴν στρα-
3 τιάν. ὡς δὲ ᾔσθετο πλείονας γεγονότας καὶ
θαρραλεώτερον ἀνθισταμένους τοὺς περὶ τὸν τύ-
ραννον, οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν, ἀλλ' ἀπῆλθε τοὺς νεκροὺς
ὑποσπόνδους ἀνελόμενος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῇ περὶ
τὴν ὁμιλίαν καὶ πολιτείαν ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ χάριτι
τὴν διαμαρτίαν ταύτην ἀναμαχόμενος προσηγά-
γετο τὰς Κλεωνὰς τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα
τῶν Νεμείων ἤγαγεν ἐν Κλεωναῖς, ὡς πάτριον
4 ὄντα καὶ μᾶλλον προσήκοντα τούτοις. ἤγαγον
δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖοι, καὶ συνεχύθη τότε πρῶτον ἡ
δεδομένη τοῖς ἀγωνισταῖς ἀσυλία καὶ ἀσφάλεια,
πάντας τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ὅσους ἔλαβον ἠγωνισμένους
ἐν Ἄργει, διὰ τῆς χώρας πορευομένους ὡς πολε-
μίους ἀποδομένων. οὕτω σφοδρὸς ἦν καὶ ἀπαρ-
αίτητος ἐν τῷ μισεῖν τοὺς τυράννους.*

XXIX. *Ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἀκούσας τὸν Ἀρί-
στιππον ἐπιβουλεύειν μὲν ταῖς Κλεωναῖς, φοβεῖ-
σθαι δὲ ἐκεῖνον ἐν Κορίνθῳ καθεζόμενον, ἤθροισεν
ἐκ παραγγέλματος στρατείαν. καὶ σιτία κε-
λεύσας πλειόνων ἡμερῶν κομίζειν εἰς Κεγχρεὰς
κατῆλθεν, ἐκκαλούμενος δι' ἀπάτης τὸν Ἀρίστιπ-
πον ὡς αὐτοῦ μὴ παρόντος ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς
Κλεωναίοις· ὃ καὶ συνέβη. παρῆν γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐξ
2 Ἄργους ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν. ὁ δὲ Ἄρατος εἰς
Κόρινθον ἤδη σκοταῖος ἐκ Κεγχρεῶν ὑποστρέψας,*

[1] After the events narrated in xxxiv. ff.

erect a trophy over the victors, Aratus was ashamed and determined again to fight out the question of the trophy, and on the next day but one put his army once more in battle array. However, on perceiving that the forces of the tyrant were more numerous than before and more courageous in their resistance, he would not venture a decisive battle, but withdrew after being allowed to take up his dead under a truce. Nevertheless, by his skill in dealing with men and public affairs, and by the favour in which he stood, he retrieved this failure, brought Cleonae into the Achaean League, and celebrated the Nemean games in that city, on the ground that it had an ancient and more fitting claim upon them. But the games were also celebrated at Argos, and then for the first time the privilege of asylum and safe-conduct which had been granted to contestants in the games was violated, since the Achaeans treated as enemies and sold into slavery all contestants in the games at Argos whom they caught travelling through their territory. So fierce and implacable was Aratus in his hatred of tyrants.

XXIX. A little while after this,[1] Aratus heard that Aristippus was plotting against Cleonae, but feared to attack it while his enemy was posted at Corinth; he therefore assembled an army by public proclamation. And after ordering his troops to carry provisions for several days, he marched down to Cenchreae, by this stratagem inviting Aristippus to attack Cleonae in the belief that his enemy was not at hand; and this was actually what happened. For the tyrant set out at once from Argos with his forces. But Aratus, returning from Cenchreae to Corinth as soon as it was dark, and posting guards

καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς φυλακαῖς διαλαβών, ἦγε τοὺς
Ἀχαιοὺς ἑπομένους οὕτω μὲν εὐτάκτως, οὕτω δὲ
ταχέως καὶ προθύμως ὥστε μὴ μόνον ὁδεύοντας,
ἀλλὰ καὶ παρελθόντας εἰς τὰς Κλεωνὰς ἔτι νυκ-
τὸς οὔσης καὶ συνταξαμένους ἐπὶ μάχην ἀγνοεῖ-
3 σθαι καὶ λανθάνειν τὸν Ἀρίστιππον. ἅμα δὲ
ἡμέρᾳ τῶν πυλῶν ἀνοιχθεισῶν καὶ τῆς σάλπιγ-
γος ἐγκελευσαμένης, δρόμῳ καὶ ἀλαλαγμῷ προσ-
πεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις εὐθὺς ἐτρέψατο, καὶ
κατεῖχε διώκων ᾗ μάλιστα φεύγειν ὑπενόει τὸν
Ἀρίστιππον, ἐκτροπὰς πολλὰς τῶν χωρίων ἐχόν-
4 των. γενομένης δὲ τῆς διώξεως ἄχρι Μυκηνῶν,
ὁ μὲν τύραννος ὑπὸ Κρητός τινος, ὡς Δεινίας
ἱστορεῖ, τοὔνομα Τραγίσκου, καταληφθεὶς ἀπο-
σφάττεται, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἔπεσον ὑπὲρ χιλίους
πεντακοσίους. ὁ δὲ Ἄρατος οὕτω λαμπρῶς
εὐτυχήσας καὶ μηδένα τῶν αὑτοῦ στρατιωτῶν
ἀποβαλών, ὅμως οὐκ ἔλαβε τὸ Ἄργος οὐδὲ
ἠλευθέρωσε, τῶν περὶ Ἀγίαν καὶ τὸν νεώτερον
Ἀριστόμαχον μετὰ δυνάμεως βασιλικῆς παρ-
εισπεσόντων καὶ κατασχόντων τὰ πράγματα.
5 Τὸ μὲν οὖν πολὺ τῆς διαβολῆς καὶ λόγους καὶ
σκώμματα καὶ βωμολοχίας παρείλετο τῶν κολα-
κευόντων τοὺς τυράννους καὶ διεξιόντων, ἐκείνοις
χαριζομένων, ὡς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν
ἐκταράττοιτο μὲν ἡ κοιλία παρὰ τὰς μάχας,
κάρος δὲ προσπίπτοι καὶ ἴλιγγος ἅμα τῷ παρα-
στῆναι τὸν σαλπιγκτήν, ἐκτάξας δὲ τὴν δύναμιν
καὶ τὸ σύνθημα παρεγγυήσας, καὶ πυθόμενος
τῶν ὑποστρατήγων καὶ λοχαγῶν, μή τις αὐτοῦ
χρεία παρόντος (βεβλῆσθαι γὰρ τοὺς ἀστρα-
γάλους), ἀπέρχοιτο καραδοκήσων πόρρωθεν τὸ

along all the roads, led his Achaeans towards Cleonae, and they followed him in such good order and with such swiftness and alacrity that not only while they were on the march, but also when they had got into Cleonae, before the night was over, and had arrayed themselves for battle, Aristippus knew nothing at all of it. Then, at daybreak, the gates were thrown open, the trumpet gave its loud signal, and dashing at a run and with shouts upon the enemy Aratus routed them at once, and kept on pursuing where he most suspected that Aristippus was in flight, the country having many diverging routes. The pursuit continued as far as Mycenae, where the tyrant was overtaken and slain by a certain Cretan named Tragiscus, as Deinias relates; and besides him there fell over fifteen hundred. But although Aratus had won so brilliant a success, and had lost not a single one of his own soldiers, he nevertheless did not take Argos nor set it free, since Agias and the younger Aristomachus burst into the city with troops of the king and took control of affairs.

This success, then, refuted much of the calumny heaped upon Aratus, as well as the scoffing and abusive stories of the flatterers of the tyrants, who would recount, to please their masters, how the general of the Achaeans always had cramps in the bowels when a battle was imminent, and how torpor and dizziness would seize him as soon as the trumpeter stood by to give the signal, and how, after he had drawn up his forces and passed the watchword along, he would ask his lieutenants and captains whether there was any further need of his presence (since the die was already cast), and then go off to await the issue anxiously at a distance. For

6 συμβησόμενον. ταῦτα γὰρ οὕτως ἴσχυσεν ὥστε καὶ τοὺς φιλοσόφους ἐν ταῖς σχολαῖς ζητοῦντας εἰ τὸ πάλλεσθαι τὴν καρδίαν καὶ τὸ χρῶμα τρέπεσθαι καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν ἐξυγραίνεσθαι παρὰ τὰ φαινόμενα δεινὰ δειλίας ἐστὶν ἢ δυσκρασίας τινὸς περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ ψυχρότητος, ὀνομάζειν ἀεὶ τὸν Ἄρατον ὡς ἀγαθὸν μὲν ὄντα στρατηγόν, ἀεὶ δὲ ταῦτα πάσχοντα παρὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας.

XXX. Ὡς δ' οὖν τὸν Ἀρίστιππον ἀνεῖλεν, 1041 εὐθὺς ἐπεβούλευσε Λυδιάδῃ τῷ Μεγαλοπολίτῃ τυραννοῦντι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ὢν ἀγεννὴς οὐδὲ ἀφιλότιμος τὴν φύσιν, οὐδὲ ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν μονάρχων ἀκρασίᾳ καὶ πλεονεξίᾳ πρὸς ταύτην ῥυεὶς τὴν ἀδικίαν, ἀλλ' ἐπαρθεὶς ἔρωτι δόξης ἔτι νέος καὶ λόγους ψευδεῖς καὶ κενοὺς λεγομένους περὶ τυραννίδος, ὡς μακαρίου καὶ θαυμαστοῦ πράγματος, εἰς μέγα φρόνημα παραδεξάμενος ἀνοήτως, καὶ καταστήσας ἑαυτὸν τύραννον ταχὺ μεστὸς ἦν τῆς ἐκ μοναρχίας βαρύ-
2 τητος. ἅμα δὲ ζηλῶν εὐημεροῦντα καὶ δεδοικὼς ἐπιβουλεύοντα τὸν Ἄρατον ὥρμησε καλλίστην ὁρμὴν μεταβαλόμενος, πρῶτον μὲν ἑαυτὸν ἐλευθερῶσαι μίσους καὶ φόβου καὶ φρουρᾶς καὶ δορυφόρων, εἶτα τῆς πατρίδος εὐεργέτης γενέσθαι καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν Ἄρατον ἀφῆκε τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν εἰς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς μετεκόμισεν. ἐφ' οἷς μεγαλύνοντες αὐτὸν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ στρατηγὸν εἵλοντο.

3 Φιλοτιμούμενος δὲ εὐθὺς ὑπερβαλεῖν δόξῃ τὸν Ἄρατον ἄλλας τε πολλὰς πράξεις οὐκ ἀναγκαίας εἶναι δοκούσας καὶ στρατείαν ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους παρήγγελλεν. ἐνιστάμενος δὲ ὁ Ἄρατος αὐτῷ

these stories were so prevalent that even in the schools of philosophy, when the query arises whether palpitation of the heart and change of colour and looseness of the bowels, in the presence of seeming peril, are the mark of cowardice, or of some faulty temperament and chilliness in the body, Aratus is always mentioned by name as one who was a good general, but always had these symptons when a contest was impending.

XXX. Having thus made away with Aristippus, Aratus at once began to plot against Lydiades, who was tyrant in his native city of Megalopolis. This Lydiades was neither of mean birth nor naturally lacking in high ambition, nor, like most sole rulers, had he been driven by licence and rapacity into this iniquity, but he had been fired with a love of glory while still young, and had thoughtlessly associated with his high spirit the false and empty doctrines current concerning tyranny, to the effect that it was a wonderful and blessed thing. And now that he had made himself tyrant, he was quickly sated with the burdens which devolve upon the sole ruler. Therefore, at once envying the successes of Aratus and fearing his plots, he adopted a new and most admirable plan, first, to free himself from hatred and fear and guards and spearmen, and second, to become a benefactor of his native city. So he sent for Aratus, resigned his power, and made his city a member of the Achaean League. Wherefore the Achaeans exalted him and chose him general.

Lydiades was at once ambitious to surpass Aratus in reputation, and not only did many other things which were thought unnecessary, but also proclaimed an expedition against the Lacedaemonians. Aratus

φθονεῖν ἐδόκει· καὶ τό γε δεύτερον ὁ Λυδιάδης
στρατηγὸς ἡρέθη, ἀντιπράττοντος ἄντικρυς Ἀρά-
του καὶ σπουδάζοντος ἑτέρῳ παραδοθῆναι τὴν
ἀρχήν. αὐτὸς μὲν γάρ, ὡς εἴρηται,[1] παρ' ἐνιαυτὸν
4 ἦρχε. μέχρι μὲν οὖν τρίτης στρατηγίας ὁ Λυ-
διάδης εὖ φερόμενος διετέλει καὶ παρ' ἐνιαυτὸν
ἦρχεν ἐναλλὰξ τῷ Ἀράτῳ στρατηγῶν· φανερὰν
δὲ ἐξενεγκάμενος ἔχθραν καὶ πολλάκις αὐτοῦ
κατηγορήσας ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἀπερρίφη καὶ
παρώφθη, πεπλασμένῳ δοκῶν ἤθει πρὸς ἀλη-
5 θινὴν καὶ ἀκέραιον ἀρετὴν ἁμιλλᾶσθαι. καὶ
καθάπερ τῷ κόκκυγί φησιν Αἴσωπος, ἐρωτῶντι
τοὺς λεπτοὺς ὄρνιθας ὅ τι φεύγοιεν αὐτόν, εἰπεῖν
ἐκείνους ὡς ἔσται ποτὲ ἱέραξ, οὕτως ἔοικε τῷ
Λυδιάδῃ παρακολουθεῖν ἐκ τῆς τυραννίδος ὑπο-
ψία βλάπτουσα τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ τῆς μεταβολῆς.

XXXI. Ὁ δὲ Ἄρατος εὐδοκίμησε καὶ περὶ
τὰς Αἰτωλικὰς πράξεις, ὅτε συμβαλεῖν μὲν αὐτοῖς
πρὸ τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ὡρμημένων τῶν Ἀχαιῶν,
καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων Ἄγιδος[2]
ἀφικομένου μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ συνεξορμῶντος
ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην τοὺς Ἀχαιούς, ἐναντιωθεὶς καὶ
πολλὰ μὲν ὀνείδη, πολλὰ δ' εἰς μαλακίαν καὶ
ἀτολμίαν καὶ σκώμματα καὶ χλευασμὸν ὑπομεί-
νας οὐ προήκατο τὸν τοῦ συμφέροντος λογισμὸν
διὰ τὸ φαινόμενον αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ παρεχώρησε
τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπερβαλοῦσι τὴν Γεράνειαν ἀμα-
2 χεὶ παρελθεῖν εἰς Πελοπόννησον. ὡς μέντοι παρ-
ελθόντες ἐξαίφνης Πελλήνην κατέλαβον, οὐκέτ' ἦν
ὁ αὐτός, οὐδ' ἔμελλε διατρίβων καὶ περιμένων

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[1] Chap. xxiv. 4. [2] About 241 B.C. Cf. the *Agis*, xiv. f.

opposed him, but was thought to do so out of jealousy; and Lydiades was chosen general for the second time, though Aratus openly worked against him and was eager to have the office given to someone else. For Aratus himself, as I have said,[1] held the office every other year. Accordingly, until he was general for the third time, Lydiades continued to be held in favour, and held the office every other year in alternation with Aratus; but after displaying an open enmity to him and frequently denouncing him before the Achaeans, he was cast aside and ignored, since it was apparent that he was contending, with a fictitious character, against a genuine and unadulterated virtue. And just as the cuckoo, in the fable of Aesop, when he asks the little birds why they fly away from him, is told by them that he will one day be a hawk, so it would seem that since Lydiades had once been a tyrant he was never free from a suspicion, which did injustice to his real nature, that he would change again.

XXXI. In the Aetolian war also Aratus won a good repute. For when the Achaeans were bent on an engagement with the Aetolians in front of Megara,[2] and Agis the king of the Lacedaemonians was come up with an army and joined in urging the Achaeans on to battle, Aratus opposed this counsel, and in spite of much vilification and much scoffing abuse for weakness and cowardice would not abandon, because of any seeming disgrace, which he judged to be for the general advantage, but allowed the enemy to cross the Geraneian range without a battle and pass on into Peloponnesus. When, however, after thus passing on, they suddenly seized Pellene, he was no longer the same man, nor would he wait at

ἀθροισθῆναι καὶ συνελθεῖν εἰς ταὐτὸ πανταχόθεν
τὴν δύναμιν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ὥρμησε μετὰ τῶν παρόν-
των ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν τῷ κρατεῖν ἀσθενε-
3 στάτους δι' ἀταξίαν καὶ ὕβριν ὄντας. ἅμα γὰρ
τῷ παρελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται
διασπαρέντες ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἦσαν, ἐξωθοῦντες
ἀλλήλους καὶ διαμαχόμενοι περὶ τῶν χρημάτων,
ἡγεμόνες δὲ καὶ λοχαγοὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰς
θυγατέρας τῶν Πελληνέων περιϊόντες ἥρπαζον,
καὶ τὰ κράνη τὰ αὑτῶν ἀφαιροῦντες ἐκείναις
περιετίθεσαν τοῦ μηδένα λαβεῖν ἄλλον, ἀλλὰ τῷ
κράνει δῆλον εἶναι τὸν δεσπότην ἑκάστης. οὕτω
δὲ διακειμένοις αὐτοῖς καὶ ταῦτα πράττουσιν
ἐξαίφνης ὁ Ἄρατος ἐπιπεσὼν προσηγγέλθη. καὶ
γενομένης ἐκπλήξεως, οἵαν εἰκὸς ἐν ἀταξίᾳ τοι-
αύτῃ, πρὶν ἢ πάντας πυθέσθαι τὸν κίνδυνον οἱ πρῶ-
τοι περὶ τὰς πύλας τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ τὰ προάστεια
συμπεσόντες ἔφευγον ἤδη νενικημένοι, καὶ κατε- 104
πίμπλασαν ἐλαυνόμενοι προτροπάδην ἀπορίας
τοὺς συνισταμένους καὶ προσβοηθοῦντας.

XXXII. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ταράχῳ μία τῶν
αἰχμαλώτων, Ἐπιγήθους ἀνδρὸς ἐνδόξου θυγάτηρ,
αὐτὴ δὲ κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει σώματος εὐπρεπής,
ἔτυχε μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καθεζομένη τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος,
οὗ κατέστησεν αὐτὴν ὁ ἐπιλεκτάρχης ἑλὼν ἑαυτῷ
καὶ περιθεὶς τὴν τριλοφίαν, ἄφνω δὲ ἐκδραμοῦσα
2 πρὸς τὸν θόρυβον, ὡς ἔστη πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ
ἱεροῦ καὶ κατέβλεψεν εἰς τοὺς μαχομένους ἄνωθεν
ἔχουσα τὴν τριλοφίαν, αὐτοῖς τε τοῖς πολίταις

all in order that his forces might assemble and come together from all quarters, but at once set out with those he had against the enemy, whom the disorder and wantonness attendant upon their success had wholly weakened. For as soon as they had entered the city, the common soldiers had scattered themselves among the houses, jostling and fighting with one another over the booty, while the leaders and captains were going about and seizing the wives and daughters of the Pellenians, on whose heads they put their own helmets, that no one else might seize them, but that the helmet might show to whom each woman belonged. But while they were in this situation and thus engaged, word was suddenly brought them that Aratus had attacked. Dismay fell upon them, as was natural amid such disorder, and before all had learned of the danger the foremost of them, engaging with the Achaeans at the gates and in the suburbs, were already conquered and in full flight, and being driven in headlong rout, they filled with dismay those who were collecting together and coming to their aid.

XXXII. In the midst of this confusion, one of the captive women, daughter of Epigethes, a man of distinction, and herself conspicuous for beauty and stateliness of person, chanced to be sitting in the sanctuary of Artemis, where she had been placed by the captain of a picked corps, who had seized her for his prize and set his three-crested helmet upon her head. But suddenly she ran forth to view the tumult, and as she stood in front of the gate of the sanctuary and looked down upon the combatants from on high, with the three-crested helmet on her head, she seemed to the citizens themselves a vision

θέαμα σεμνότερον ἢ κατ' ἄνθρωπον ἐφάνη, καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις φάσμα θεῖον ὁρᾶν δοκοῦσι φρίκην ἐνέβαλε καὶ θάμβος, ὥστε μηδένα τρέπεσθαι πρὸς ἀλκήν.

Αὐτοὶ δὲ Πελληνεῖς λέγουσι τὸ βρέτας τῆς θεοῦ τὸν μὲν ἄλλον ἀποκεῖσθαι χρόνον ἄψαυστον, ὅταν δὲ κινηθὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἱερείας ἐκφέρηται, μηδένα προσβλέπειν ἐναντίον, ἀλλ' ἀποτρέπεσθαι πάντας· οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώποις μόνον ὅραμα φρικτὸν εἶναι καὶ χαλεπόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δένδρα ποιεῖν ἄφορα καὶ καρποὺς ἀπαμβλίσκειν, δι' ὧν ἂν κομίζηται.
3 τοῦτο δὴ τότε τὴν ἱέρειαν ἐξενεγκαμένην καὶ τρέπουσαν ἀεὶ κατὰ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἀντιπρόσωπον ἔκφρονας καταστῆσαι καὶ παρελέσθαι τὸν λογισμόν. ὁ δὲ Ἄρατος οὐδὲν ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν εἴρηκε τοιοῦτον, ἀλλά φησι τρεψάμενος τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ φεύγουσι συνεισπεσὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐξελάσαι κατὰ κράτος, ἑπτακοσίους δὲ ἀποκτεῖναι. τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις διεβοήθη, καὶ Τιμάνθης ὁ ζωγράφος ἐποίησεν ἐμφαντικῶς τῇ διαθέσει τὴν μάχην ἔχουσαν.

XXXIII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πολλῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ δυναστῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς συνισταμένων εὐθὺς ὁ Ἄρατος ἔπραττε φιλίαν πρὸς τοὺς Αἰτωλούς, καὶ Πανταλέοντι τῷ πλεῖστον Αἰτωλῶν δυναμένῳ συνεργῷ χρησάμενος οὐ μόνον εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμμαχίαν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς πρὸς τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἐποίησε.

2 Τοὺς δὲ Ἀθηναίους σπουδάζων ἐλευθερῶσαι διεβλήθη καὶ κακῶς ἤκουσεν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ὅτι σπονδὰς πεποιημένων αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς Μακεδόνας καὶ ἀνοχὰς ἀγόντων ἐπεχείρησε τὸν Πειραιᾶ

of more than human majesty, while the enemy thought they saw an apparition from heaven and were struck with amazement and terror, so that not a man of them thought of defending himself.

But the Pellenians themselves tell us that the image of the goddess usually stands untouched, and that when it is removed by the priestess and carried forth from the temple, no man looks upon it, but all turn their gaze away; for not only to mankind is it a grievous and terrible sight, but trees also, past which it may be carried, become barren and cast their fruit. This image, then, they say, the priestess carried forth from the temple at this time, and by ever turning it in the faces of the Aetolians robbed them of their senses and took away their reason. Aratus, however, in his Commentaries, makes no mention of such a thing, but says that after routing the Aetolians and bursting into the city with them as they fled, he drove them out by main force, and slew seven hundred of them. The action was extolled as among the greatest exploits, and Timanthes the painter made a picture of the battle which in its composition vividly pourtrayed the event.

XXXIII. Notwithstanding, since many peoples and dynasts were combining against the Achaeans, Aratus at once sought to make friends of the Aetolians, and with the assistance of Pantaleon, their most influential man, not only made peace, but also an alliance between them and the Achaeans.

But in his eagerness to set Athens free he incurred the bitter reproaches of the Achaeans, because, though they had made a truce and suspended hostilities with the Macedonians, he attempted to seize

καταλαβεῖν. αὐτὸς δὲ ἀρνούμενος ἐν τοῖς ὑπο-
μνήμασιν οἷς ἀπολέλοιπεν Ἐργῖνον αἰτιᾶται, μεθ'
3 οὗ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον ἔπραξεν. ἐκεῖνον
γὰρ ἰδίᾳ τῷ Πειραιεῖ προσβαλόντα καὶ τῆς κλί-
μακος συντριβείσης διωκόμενον ὀνομάζειν καὶ
καλεῖν συνεχῶς Ἄρατον ὥσπερ παρόντα, καὶ δια-
φυγεῖν οὕτως ἐξαπατήσαντα τοὺς πολεμίους. οὐ
μὴν δοκεῖ πιθανῶς ἀπολογεῖσθαι· τὸν γὰρ Ἐργῖ-
νον, ἄνθρωπον ἰδιώτην καὶ Σύρον, ἀπ' οὐδενὸς ἦν
εἰκότος ἐπὶ νοῦν βαλέσθαι τὴν τηλικαύτην πρᾶξιν,
εἰ μὴ τὸν Ἄρατον εἶχεν ἡγεμόνα καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου
τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὸν καιρὸν εἰλήφει πρὸς τὴν ἐπί-
4 θεσιν. ἐδήλωσε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἄρατος οὐ δὶς
οὐδὲ τρίς, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις, ὥσπερ οἱ δυσέρωτες,
ἐπιχειρήσας τῷ Πειραιεῖ καὶ πρὸς τὰς διαμαρτίας
οὐκ ἀποκαμών, ἀλλὰ τῷ παρὰ μικρὸν ἀεὶ καὶ
σύνεγγυς ἀποσφάλλεσθαι τῶν ἐλπίδων πρὸς τὸ
θαρρεῖν ἀνακαλούμενος. ἅπαξ δὲ καὶ τὸ σκέλος
ἔσπασε διὰ τοῦ Θριασίου φεύγων· καὶ τομὰς
ἔλαβε πολλὰς θεραπευόμενος, καὶ πολὺν χρόνον
ἐν φορείῳ κομιζόμενος ἐποιεῖτο τὰς στρατείας.

XXXIV. Ἀντιγόνου δὲ ἀποθανόντος καὶ Δη-
μητρίου τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντος ἔτι μᾶλλον
ἐνέκειτο ταῖς Ἀθήναις καὶ ὅλως κατεφρόνει τῶν
Μακεδόνων. διὸ καὶ κρατηθέντος αὐτοῦ μάχῃ
περὶ Φυλακίαν ὑπὸ Βίθυος τοῦ Δημητρίου στρα-
τηγοῦ, καὶ λόγου γενομένου πολλοῦ μέν, ὡς
ἑάλωκε, πολλοῦ δὲ ὡς τέθνηκεν, ὁ μὲν τὸν Πει- 1043
2 ραιᾶ φρουρῶν Διογένης ἔπεμψεν ἐπιστολὴν εἰς

[1] Antigonus Gonatas died in 239 B.C, and was succeeded by his son Demetrius II., who reigned ten years.

the Peiraeus. He himself, however, in the Commentaries which he left, lays the blame for this attempt upon Erginus, with whose aid he had effected the capture of Acrocorinthus. He says that Erginus attacked the Peiraeus on his own private account, and that when his scaling-ladder broke and the enemy were pursuing him, he kept calling upon Aratus by name, as if Aratus were there, and thus deceived and made his escape from them. But this defence does not seem to be convincing. For Erginus was a private man and a Syrian, and there is no likelihood that he would have conceived of so great an undertaking if he had not been under the guidance of Aratus and obtained from him the force and the fitting time for the attack. And Aratus himself also made this plain, since he assaulted the Peiraeus, not twice or thrice, but many times, like a desperate lover, and would not desist in spite of his failures, but was roused to fresh courage by the very narrowness of the slight margin by which he was disappointed of his hopes. And once he actually put his leg out of joint as he fled through the Thriasian plain; and while he was under treatment for this, the knife was often used upon him, and for a long time he was carried in a litter upon his campaigns.

XXXIV. When Antigonus died and Demetrius succeeded to the throne,[1] Aratus was all the more bent upon getting Athens, and wholly despised the Macedonians. And so, after he had been overcome in a battle at Phylacia by Bithys the general of Demetrius, and reports were rife, one that he had been captured, and another that he was dead, Diogenes, the guardian of the Peiraeus, sent a letter to

Κόρινθον ἐξίστασθαι τῆς πόλεως κελεύων τοὺς
Ἀχαιούς, ἐπειδὴ Ἄρατος ἀπέθανεν· ἔτυχε δὲ τῶν
γραμμάτων κομισθέντων παρὼν αὐτὸς ἐν Κορίνθῳ,
καὶ διατριβὴν οἱ τοῦ Διογένους καὶ γέλωτα πολὺν
παρασχόντες ἀπηλλάγησαν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς
ἐκ Μακεδονίας ναῦν ἔπεμψεν, ἐφ' ἧς κομισθήσεται
3 πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Ἄρατος δεδεμένος. πᾶσαν δὲ
Ἀθηναῖοι κουφότητα κολακείας τῆς πρὸς Μακεδό-
νας ὑπερβάλλοντες ἐστεφανηφόρησαν ὅτε πρῶτον
ἠγγέλθη τεθνηκώς. διὸ καὶ πρὸς ὀργὴν εὐθὺς ἐκ-
στρατεύσας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἄχρι τῆς Ἀκαδημείας
προῆλθεν· εἶτα πεισθεὶς οὐδὲν ἠδίκησεν.

Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι συμφρονήσαντες αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρε-
τήν, ἐπεὶ Δημητρίου τελευτήσαντος ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ
4 τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, ἐκεῖνον ἐκάλουν. ὁ δέ, καίπερ ἑτέ-
ρου μὲν ἄρχοντος τότε τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ
ἀρρωστίᾳ μακρᾷ κλινήρης ὑπάρχων, ὅμως ἐν
φορείῳ κομιζόμενος ὑπήντησε τῇ πόλει πρὸς τὴν
χρείαν, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς φρουρᾶς Διογένη συνέπει-
σεν ἀποδοῦναι τόν τε Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὴν Μουνυχίαν
καὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα καὶ τὸ Σούνιον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις
ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ταλάντοις, ὧν αὐτὸς ὁ
5 Ἄρατος εἴκοσι τῇ πόλει συνεβάλετο. προσεχώ-
ρησαν δ' εὐθὺς Αἰγινῆται καὶ Ἑρμιονεῖς τοῖς
Ἀχαιοῖς, ἥ τε πλείστη τῆς Ἀρκαδίας αὐτοῖς συν-
ετέλει. καὶ Μακεδόνων μὲν ἀσχόλων ὄντων διά
τινας προσοίκους καὶ ὁμόρους πολέμους, Αἰτω-
λῶν δὲ συμμαχούντων, ἐπίδοσιν μεγάλην ἡ τῶν
Ἀχαιῶν ἐλάμβανε δύναμις.

Corinth ordering the Achaeans to quit the city, since Aratus had been killed; but when the letter arrived at Corinth, Aratus chanced to be there in person, and so the messengers of Diogenes, after furnishing much diversion and laughter, went away. Moreover, the king himself sent a ship from Macedonia, on which Aratus was to be brought to him in chains. And the Athenians, carrying their flattery of the Macedonians to the highest pitch of levity, crowned themselves with garlands as soon as they heard that Aratus was dead. Therefore he was wroth, and at once made an expedition against them, and advanced as far as the Academy; then he listened to their entreaties and did them no harm.

So the Athenians came to recognize the excellence of his character, and when, upon the death of Demetrius,[1] they set out to regain their freedom, they called upon him. Then Aratus, although another was at that time general of the Achaeans, and he himself was confined to his bed by a long sickness, nevertheless was carried in a litter to help the city in its time of need, and joined in persuading Diogenes, the commander of the garrison, to give up the Peiraeus, Munychia, Salamis, and Sunium to the Athenians for a hundred and fifty talents, twenty of which Aratus contributed himself. Moreover, Aegina and Hermione at once came over to the Achaeans, and the greater part of Arcadia joined their league. And since the Macedonians were busy with certain neighbouring and adjacent wars, and the Aetolians were in alliance with the Achaeans, the power of the Achaean League was greatly increased.

[1] In 229 B.C. He was succeeded by Antigonus Doson, who reigned nine years.

XXXV. Ὁ δὲ Ἄρατος ἐξεργαζόμενος τὴν παλαιὰν ὑπόθεσιν, καὶ δυσανασχετῶν τὴν ἐν Ἄργει τυραννίδα γειτνιῶσαν αὐτοῖς, ἔπειθε πέμπων τὸν Ἀριστόμαχον εἰς μέσον θεῖναι καὶ προσαγαγεῖν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ζηλώσαντα Λυδιάδην ἔθνους τηλικούτου μετ' εὐφημίας καὶ τιμῆς στρατηγὸν εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ μιᾶς πόλεως κινδυνεύοντα
2 καὶ μισούμενον τύραννον. ὑπακούσαντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀριστομάχου καὶ κελεύσαντος αὐτῷ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα πέμψαι τὸν Ἄρατον, ὅπως ἀπαλλάξῃ καὶ διαλύσηται τοὺς παρ' αὐτῷ στρατευομένους, καὶ τῶν χρημάτων ποριζομένων, ὁ Λυδιάδης ἔτι στρατηγῶν καὶ φιλοτιμούμενος ἴδιον αὐτοῦ πολίτευμα τοῦτο πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς γενέσθαι, τοῦ μὲν Ἀράτου κατηγόρει πρὸς Ἀριστόμαχον ὡς δυσμενῶς καὶ ἀδιαλλάκτως ἀεὶ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους ἔχοντος, αὐτῷ δὲ πείσας τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐπιτρέψαι προσήγαγε τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τὸν ἄνθρωπον.
3 ἔνθα δὴ μάλιστα φανερὰν ἐποίησαν οἱ σύνεδροι τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἄρατον εὔνοιαν καὶ πίστιν. ἀντειπόντος μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ δι' ὀργὴν ἀπήλασαν τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀριστόμαχον· ἐπεὶ δὲ συμπεισθεὶς πάλιν αὐτὸς ἤρξατο περὶ αὐτῶν διαλέγεσθαι παρών, πάντα ταχέως καὶ προθύμως ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ προσεδέξαντο μὲν τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ Φλιασίους εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν, ἐνιαυτῷ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ τὸν Ἀριστόμαχον εἵλοντο στρατηγόν.
4 Ὁ δὲ εὐημερῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ βουλόμενος εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἐμβαλεῖν ἐκάλει τὸν Ἄρατον ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν. ὁ δὲ ἔγραφε μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν στρατείαν ἀπαγορεύων καὶ[1] τῷ Κλεομένει θράσος

[1] καὶ bracketed by Sint.[2]

XXXV. And now Aratus, seeking to effect his long-standing purpose, and impatient of the tyranny so near the Achaeans in Argos, sent messengers and tried to persuade Aristomachus to give his city freedom and attach it to the Achaean League, urging him to imitate Lydiades and be general of so great a nation with praise and honour, rather than tyrant of a single city with peril and hatred. Aristomachus consented, and told Aratus to send him fifty talents, in order that he might disband and send away the soldiers under him, and the money was being provided. Upon this, Lydiades, who was still general and had an ambition that the Achaeans should regard this transaction as his own work, denounced Aratus to Aristomachus as a man who had always been an implacable enemy of tyrants, and after persuading Aristomachus to entrust the matter to himself, brought him before the Achaean council. Then the members of the council put into clearest light their goodwill towards Aratus and their confidence in him. For when he angrily opposed the project, they drove Aristomachus away; but when he had been won over again, and came before them in person, and began to argue for the project, they speedily and readily adopted all his proposals, admitted Argos and Phlius into the league, and a year later[1] actually choose Aristomachus general.

Aristomachus, then, being in high favour with the Achaeans, and wishing to invade Laconia, summoned Aratus from Athens. Aratus wrote him a letter in which he tried to dissuade him from the expedition, and expressed unwillingness to involve the Achaeans in hostilities with Cleomenes, who was daring and

[1] In 227 B.C.

ἔχοντι καὶ παραβόλως αὐξανομένῳ συμπλέκεσθαι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς μὴ βουλόμενος, ὡρμημένου δὲ πάντως ὑπήκουσε καὶ παρὼν συνεστράτευεν. ὅτε δὴ καὶ κωλύσας περὶ τὸ Παλλάντιον τοῦ Κλεομένους ἐπιφανέντος αὐτοῖς μάχην συνάψαι τὸν Ἀριστόμαχον ὑπὸ Λυδιάδου κατηγορήθη, καὶ περὶ τῆς στρατηγίας εἰς ἀγῶνα καὶ ἀντιπαραγγελίαν αὐτῷ καταστὰς ἐκράτησε τῇ χειροτονίᾳ καὶ τὸ δωδέκατον ᾑρέθη στρατηγός.

XXXVI. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ στρατηγίᾳ περὶ τὸ Λύκαιον ἡττηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κλεομένους ἔφυγε· καὶ 1044
πλανηθεὶς νυκτὸς ἔδοξε μὲν τεθνάναι καὶ πάλιν οὗτος ὁ λόγος κατ' αὐτοῦ πολὺς ἐξεφοίτησεν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ἀνασωθεὶς δὲ καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας συναγαγὼν οὐκ ἠγάπησεν ἀσφαλῶς ἀπελθεῖν,
2 ἀλλ' ἄριστα τῷ καιρῷ χρησάμενος οὐδενὸς προσδοκῶντος οὐδὲ συλλογιζομένου τὸ μέλλον ἐξαίφνης ἐπέπεσε Μαντινεῦσι συμμάχοις οὖσι τοῦ Κλεομένους· καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἑλὼν φρουρὰν ἐνέβαλε καὶ τοὺς μετοίκους πολίτας ἐποίησεν αὐτῶν, καὶ μόνος ἃ νικῶντες οὐκ ἂν ῥᾳδίως ἔσχον ἐκτήσατο νενικημένοις τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς.

3 Αὖθις δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπὶ Μεγάλην πόλιν στρατευσάντων βοηθήσας ὤκνει μὲν ἀψιμαχοῦντι τῷ Κλεομένει λαβὴν παρασχεῖν καὶ τοῖς Μεγαλοπολίταις βιαζομένοις ἀντεῖχεν, οὔτε ἄλλως πρὸς τὰς κατὰ στόμα μάχας εὖ πεφυκὼς καὶ τότε λειπόμενός τε πλήθει καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρα τολμητὴν καὶ νέον ἤδη παρακμάζοντι τῷ θυμῷ καὶ κεκολασμένῃ τῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ συνεστηκώς, καὶ

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[1] See the *Cleomenes*, iv. 3–4.

[2] 226 B.C. Cf. the *Cleomenes*, v. [3] Cf. the *Cleomenes*, vi.

growing marvellously in power; but, since Aristomachus was altogether insistent, Aratus obeyed orders and accompanied the expedition in person. It was at this time that he prevented Aristomachus from joining battle when Cleomenes came upon them at Pallantium,[1] and was denounced therefore by Lydiades, with whom he came into contest and competition for the office of general, winning the vote and being chosen general for the twelfth time.

XXXVI. In the campaign of this year[2] he was defeated by Cleomenes near Mount Lycaeum, and took to flight; and, since he lost his way in the night, he was thought to be dead, and once more a story to this effect had wide currency among the Greeks. But he escaped alive and rallied his soldiers, and then was not content to come off safely, but making the best use of his opportunity, when no one expected or had any idea of what was to happen, he suddenly made an assault upon Mantineia, which was in alliance with Cleomenes; and having taken the city, he set a garrison there, and made its alien residents full citizens, thus acquiring single-handed for the conquered Achaeans what they could not easily have obtained as conquerors.

And again, when the Lacedaemonians made an expedition against Megalopolis,[3] he went to the aid of the city, but was loth to give Cleomenes a chance for the hand-to-hand fighting which he desired, and resisted the importunities of the Megalopolitans. For he was never at any time well fitted by nature for set battles, and at this time in particular he was inferior in numbers, and was matched against a man who was young and daring, while his own courage was past its prime, and his ambition chastened. He

νομίζων ἣν διὰ τοῦ τολμᾶν ἐκεῖνος ἐξ οὐχ ὑπαρχόντων ἐκτᾶτο δόξαν αὐτῷ κεκτημένῳ φυλακτέον εἶναι διὰ τῆς εὐλαβείας.

XXXVII. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν ψιλῶν ἐκδραμόντων καὶ ὠσαμένων τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας ἄχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ περὶ τὰς σκηνὰς διασπαρέντων, ὁ μὲν Ἄρατος οὐδ' ὣς ἐπήγαγεν, ἀλλ' ἐν μέσῳ λαβὼν χαράδραν ἐπέστησε καὶ κατεκώλυσε διαβῆναι τοὺς ὁπλίτας· ὁ δὲ Λυδιάδης περιπαθῶν πρὸς τὰ γιγνόμενα καὶ τὸν Ἄρατον κακίζων ἀνεκαλεῖτο τοὺς ἱππεῖς ὡς αὐτόν, ἀξιῶν ἐπιφανῆναι τοῖς διώκουσι καὶ μὴ προέσθαι τὸ νίκημα μηδὲ ἐγκαταλιπεῖν αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀγω-
2 νιζόμενον. πολλῶν δὲ συστραφέντων καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπιρρωσθεὶς ἐνέβαλε τῷ δεξιῷ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τρεψάμενος ἐδίωκεν, ὑπὸ θυμοῦ καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἀταμιεύτως ἐπισπασθεὶς εἰς χωρία σκολιὰ καὶ μεστὰ δένδρων πεφυτευμένων καὶ τάφρων πλατειῶν, ἐν οἷς ἐπιθεμένου τοῦ Κλεομένους ἔπεσε λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος τὸν κάλλιστον τῶν ἀγώ-
3 νων ἐπὶ θύραις τῆς πατρίδος. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι φεύγοντες εἰς τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ συνταράξαντες τοὺς ὁπλίτας ὅλον τὸ στράτευμα τῆς ἥττης ἐνέπλησαν. αἰτίαν δὲ μεγάλην ὁ Ἄρατος ἔλαβε δόξας προέσθαι τὸν Λυδιάδην· καὶ βιασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀπερχομένων πρὸς ὀργὴν ἠκολούθησεν αὐτοῖς εἰς Αἴγιον. ἐκεῖ δὲ συνελθόντες ἐψηφίσαντο μὴ διδόναι χρήματα αὐτῷ μηδὲ μισθοφόρους τρέφειν, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ πορίζειν, εἰ δέοιτο πολεμεῖν.

also thought that the glory which his adversary was trying to acquire by his daring and did not possess, had already been acquired by himself and must be preserved by his caution.

XXXVII. Nevertheless, his light infantry once made a sally, drove the Spartans as far as to their camp, and were scattered about among the tents. Aratus, however, would not even then lead up his men, but putting a ravine between himself and the enemy, halted there, and would not suffer his men-at-arms to cross it. Then Lydiades, distressed at what was going on, and loading Aratus with reproaches, called his horsemen to him and exhorted them to go to the help of the pursuers, and not to let the victory slip out of their hands nor leave in the lurch a commander who was fighting in behalf of his native city. Many brave men gathering at his call, he was emboldened to charge upon the right wing of the enemy, which he routed and pursued. But his ardour and ambition robbed him of discretion, and he was drawn on into places that were intricate and full of planted trees and broad trenches. Here Cleomenes attacked him and he fell, after a brilliant and most honourable combat at the gates of his native city. The rest of his men fled to their main line, threw the men-at-arms into confusion, and thus infected the whole army with their defeat. Aratus was severely blamed for this, being thought to have betrayed Lydiades; and when the Achaeans left the field in anger, they forced him to accompany them to Aegium. Here they held an assembly, and voted not to give him money and not to maintain mercenaries for him; if he wanted to wage war, he must provide the means himself.

XXXVIII. Οὕτω δὲ προπηλακισθεὶς ἐβουλεύσατο μὲν εὐθὺς ἀποθέσθαι τὴν σφραγῖδα καὶ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀφεῖναι, λογισμῷ δὲ χρησάμενος τότε μὲν ὑπέμεινε, καὶ πρὸς Ὀρχομενὸν ἐξαγαγὼν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς μάχην ἔθετο πρὸς Μεγιστόνουν τὸν Κλεομένους πατρῳόν, ἐν ᾗ κρατήσας τριακοσίους μὲν ἀπέκτεινε, ζῶντα δὲ τὸν Μεγιστόνουν συν-
2 έλαβεν. εἰωθὼς δὲ στρατηγεῖν παρ' ἐνιαυτόν, ὡς ἡ τάξις αὐτῷ περιῆλθε, καλούμενος ἐξωμόσατο, καὶ Τιμόξενος ᾑρέθη στρατηγός. ἐδόκει δὲ ἡ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ὄχλους ὀργὴ πρόφασις εἶναι λεγομένη τῆς ἐξωμοσίας ἀπίθανος, αἰτία δ' ἀληθὴς τὰ περιεστῶτα τοὺς Ἀχαιούς, οὐκέθ' ὡς πρότερον ἀτρέμα καὶ σχέδην τοῦ Κλεομένους ἐπιβαίνοντος οὐδ' ἐμπλεκομένου ταῖς πολιτικαῖς ἀρχαῖς,
3 ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους ἀποκτείνας καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀναδασάμενος καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν μετοίκων ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν ἔσχεν ἰσχὺν ἀνυπεύθυνον, εὐθὺς ἐπικειμένου τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς καὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἑαυτὸν ἀξιοῦντος. διὸ καὶ μέμφονται τὸν Ἄρατον ἐν σάλῳ μεγάλῳ καὶ χειμῶνι τῶν πραγμάτων φερομένων ὥσπερ κυβερνήτην ἀφέντα καὶ προέ- 1045
μενον ἑτέρῳ τοὺς οἴακας, ὅτε καλῶς εἶχε καὶ ἀκόν-
4 των ἐπιστάντα σῴζειν τὸ κοινόν· εἰ δ' ἀπεγνώκει τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, εἶξαι τῷ Κλεομένει, καὶ μὴ πάλιν τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐκβαρβαρῶσαι φρουραῖς Μακεδόνων, μηδὲ πληρῶσαι τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον Ἰλλυρικῶν ὅπλων καὶ Γαλατικῶν, μηδὲ οὓς αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι κατα-

[1] Cf. the *Cleomenes*, xv. 1.
[2] For the year 224 B.C.
[3] Cf. the *Cleomenes*, viii., xi.

XXXVIII. Smarting under this insult, he resolved to give up his seal at once, and resign the office of general, but upon reflection he held on for the present, and after leading the Achaeans forth to Orchomenus, fought a battle there with Megistonoüs, the stepfather of Cleomenes, in which he got the upper hand, killing three hundred of the enemy and taking Megistonoüs prisoner. But when, accustomed as he was to be general every other year, his turn came round again and he was invited to take the office, he formally declined,[1] and Timoxenus was chosen general.[2] Now the grounds usually given for this refusal of Aratus, namely, his anger at the people, were not thought to be convincing, and the real reason for it was the situation of the Achaeans. For the invasions of Cleomenes were no longer quiet and restrained, as formerly, nor was he fettered by the civil authorities, but after he had killed the ephors, divided up the land, advanced many resident aliens to the citizenship, and thus got an irresponsible power,[3] he immediately pressed the Achaeans hard, and demanded the supreme leadership for himself. And therefore men blame Aratus, because, when the ship of state was driving in a great surge and storm, he forsook the pilot's helm and left it to another, although it had been well, even if the people were unwilling, to remain at their head and save them; and if he despaired of the government and power of the Achaeans, he ought to have yielded to Cleomenes, and not to have made Peloponnesus quite barbarous again under Macedonian garrisons, nor to have filled Acrocorinthus with Illyrian and Gallic arms, nor, in the case of

στρατηγῶν καὶ καταπολιτευόμενος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς
ὑπομνήμασι λοιδορῶν διετέλει, τούτους ἐπάγεσθαι
δεσπότας ταῖς πόλεσι συμμάχους ὑποκοριζόμενον.
5 εἰ δὲ Κλεομένης ἦν, λεγέσθω γὰρ οὕτως, παράνο-
μος καὶ τυραννικός, ἀλλ' Ἡρακλεῖδαι πατέρες
αὐτῷ καὶ Σπάρτη πατρίς, ἧς τὸν ἀφανέστατον
ἄξιον ἀντὶ τοῦ πρώτου Μακεδόνων ἡγεμόνα ποιεῖ-
σθαι τοὺς ἔν τινι λόγῳ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν τιθεμένους
εὐγένειαν. καίτοι Κλεομένης ᾔτει τὴν ἀρχὴν
παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ὡς πολλὰ ποιήσων ἀγαθὰ τὰς
πόλεις ἀντὶ τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τῆς προσηγορίας ἐκείνης,
6 Ἀντίγονος δὲ καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν
αὐτοκράτωρ ἡγεμὼν ἀναγορευθεὶς οὐχ ὑπήκουσε
πρὶν τὸν μισθὸν αὐτῷ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ὁμολογηθῆ-
ναι τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον, ἀτεχνῶς τὸν Αἰσώπου μι-
μησάμενος κυνηγόν. οὐ γὰρ πρότερον ἐπέβη τοῖς
Ἀχαιοῖς δεομένοις καὶ ὑποβάλλουσιν αὐτοὺς διὰ
τῶν πρεσβειῶν καὶ τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἢ τῇ φρουρᾷ
καὶ τοῖς ὁμήροις ὥσπερ χαλινουμένους ἀνασχέ-
7 σθαι. καίτοι πᾶσαν ὁ Ἄρατος ἀφίησι φωνὴν ἀπο-
λογιζόμενος τὴν ἀνάγκην. ὁ Πολύβιος δὲ αὐτὸν
ἐκ πολλοῦ φησι καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης ὑφορώμε-
νον τὸ θράσος τὸ τοῦ Κλεομένους κρύφα τῷ
Ἀντιγόνῳ διαλέγεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας
προκαθιέναι δεομένους Ἀχαιῶν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸν
Ἀντίγονον. οὗτοι γὰρ ἐπιέζοντο τῷ πολέμῳ
μάλιστα, συνεχῶς ἄγοντος αὐτοὺς καὶ φέροντος
8 τοῦ Κλεομένους. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Φύλαρχος ἱστό-

[1] *Histories*, ii. 47, 4 ff.

men whom he was always defeating in the fields of war and statesmanship and abusing in the pages of his Commentaries, to have made these men lords over the cities under the endearing name of allies. And if Cleomenes was, as must be granted, lawless and arbitrary, still, Heracleidae were his ancestors, and Sparta was his native land, the meanest citizen of which was more worthy than the foremost Macedonian to be made their leader by those who had any regard for Greek nobility of birth. And yet Cleomenes asked the Achaeans for the office, with the promise that he would confer many benefits upon their cities in return for that honour and its title, whereas Antigonus, although he was proclaimed leader with full powers by land and sea, would not accept the office until Acrocorinthus had been promised him as the pay for his leadership. In this he acted just like Aesop's hunter. For he would not mount the Achaeans, although they prayed him to do so and presented their backs to him by way of embassies and decrees, until they consented to wear the bit and bridle of the garrison they received and the hostages they gave. And yet Aratus says everything that he can say in explaining the necessity that was upon him. Polybius, however, says [1] that for a long time, and before the necessity arose, Aratus mistrusted the daring temper of Cleomenes and made secret overtures to Antigonus, besides putting the Megalopolitans forward to beg the Achaeans to call in Antigonus. For the Megalopolitans were most oppressed by the war, since Cleomenes was continually plundering their territory. A similar account of these matters is given by Phylarchus also, in whom, but for the testimony of

ρηκε περὶ τούτων, ᾧ μὴ τοῦ Πολυβίου μαρτυροῦντος οὐ πάνυ τι πιστεύειν ἄξιον ἦν. ἐνθουσιᾷ γὰρ ὅταν ἅψηται τοῦ Κλεομένους, ὑπ' εὐνοίας, καὶ καθάπερ ἐν δίκῃ τῇ ἱστορίᾳ τῷ μὲν ἀντιδικῶν διατελεῖ, τῷ δὲ συναγορεύων.

XXXIX. Ἀπέβαλον δ' οὖν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ τὴν Μαντίνειαν, πάλιν ἑλόντος αὐτὴν τοῦ Κλεομένους, καὶ μάχῃ μεγάλῃ περὶ τὸ Ἑκατόμβαιον ἡττηθέντες οὕτω κατεπλάγησαν ὥστε πέμπειν εὐθὺς ἐφ' ἡγεμονίᾳ τὸν Κλεομένη καλοῦντες εἰς
2 Ἄργος. ὁ δὲ Ἄρατος ὡς ᾔσθετο βαδίζοντα καὶ περὶ Λέρναν ὄντα μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, φοβηθεὶς ἀπέστελλε πρέσβεις τοὺς ἀξιοῦντας ὡς παρὰ φίλους καὶ συμμάχους αὐτὸν ἥκειν μετὰ τριακοσίων, εἰ δὲ ἀπιστεῖ, λαβεῖν ὁμήρους. ταῦτα ὕβριν εἶναι καὶ χλευασμὸν αὑτοῦ φήσας ὁ Κλεομένης ἀνέζευξεν, ἐπιστολὴν γράψας τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐγκλήματα πολλὰ κατὰ τοῦ Ἀράτου
3 καὶ διαβολὰς ἔχουσαν. ἔγραφε δὲ κἀκεῖνος ἐπιστολὰς κατὰ τοῦ Κλεομένους· καὶ ἐφέροντο λοιδορίαι καὶ βλασφημίαι μέχρι γάμων καὶ γυναικῶν ἀλλήλους κακῶς λεγόντων.

Ἐκ τούτου κήρυκα πέμψας ὁ Κλεομένης πόλεμον προεροῦντα τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, μικροῦ μὲν ἔλαθε τὴν Σικυωνίων πόλιν ἁρπάσας διὰ προδοσίας, ἔγγυθεν[1] δὲ ἀποτραπεὶς Πελλήνῃ προσέβαλε καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐκπεσόντος ἔσχε τὴν πόλιν. ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ Φενεὸν
4 ἔλαβε καὶ Πεντέλειον. εἶτ' εὐθὺς Ἀργεῖοι προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ καὶ Φλιάσιοι φρουρὰν ἐδέξαντο· καὶ ὅλως οὐδὲν ἔτι τῶν ἐπικτήτων βέβαιον ἦν

[1] ἔγγυθεν Bekker reads ἐκεῖθεν, with the Aldine.

Polybius, one should not put entire credence. For goodwill makes his every mention of Cleomenes ecstatic, and as if he were pleading in a court of law, he is for ever accusing Aratus in his history, and defending Cleomenes.

XXXIX. So, then, the Achaeans lost Mantineia, which was taken again by Cleomenes, and after being defeated in a great battle at Hecatombaeum they were so dismayed that they sent at once and invited Cleomenes to come to Argos and assume the leadership. But Aratus, when he learned that Cleomenes was on the way and at Lerna with his forces, feared the issue, and sent an embassy to demand that he should come with three hundred men only, as to friends and allies, and that if he was distrustful, he should accept hostages. Cleomenes declared that he was insulted and mocked by this demand, and retired with his army, after writing a letter to the Achaeans which was full of bitter accusations against Aratus. Aratus also wrote letters against Cleomenes; and their mutual abuse and defamation reached the point of maligning one another's marriages and wives.

As a result of this, Cleomenes sent a herald to declare war against the Achaeans, and almost succeeded in seizing the city of Sicyon with the help of traitors; he turned aside, however, when close at hand, and assaulted and took the city of Pellene, from which the Achaean commander fled. And not long afterwards he took Pheneus also and Penteleium. Then Argos went over to his side, and Phlius received a garrison which he sent. In a word, not one of their acquisitions longer held firm to the

τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, ἀλλὰ θόρυβος πολὺς ἄφνω περιειστήκει τὸν Ἄρατον, ὁρῶντα τὴν Πελοπόννησον κραδαινομένην καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐξανισταμένας ὑπὸ τῶν νεωτεριζόντων πανταχόθεν.

XL. Ἠτρέμει γὰρ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἔστεργεν ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Σικυωνίων αὐτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων ἐγένοντο πολλοὶ καταφανεῖς διειλεγμένοι 1046
τῷ Κλεομένει καὶ πάλαι πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἰδίων
2 ἐπιθυμίᾳ δυναστειῶν ὑπούλως ἔχοντες. ἐπὶ τούτους ἐξουσίαν ἀνυπεύθυνον ὁ Ἄρατος λαβὼν τοὺς μὲν ἐν Σικυῶνι διεφθαρμένους ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ ἐν Κορίνθῳ πειρώμενος ἀναζητεῖν καὶ κολάζειν ἐξηγρίαινε τὸ πλῆθος ἤδη νοσοῦν καὶ βαρυνόμενον τὴν ὑπὸ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς πολιτείαν. συνδραμόντες οὖν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὸν μετεπέμποντο τὸν Ἄρατον, ἀνελεῖν ἢ συλλαβεῖν
3 πρὸ τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἐγνωκότες. ὁ δὲ ἧκε μὲν αὐτὸς ἐφελκόμενος τὸν ἵππον ὡς οὐκ ἀπιστῶν οὐδὲ ὑποπτεύων, ἀναπηδησάντων δὲ πολλῶν καὶ λοιδορουμένων αὐτῷ καὶ κατηγορούντων εὖ πως καθεστῶτι τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ πρᾴως ἐκέλευε καθίσαι καὶ μὴ βοᾶν ἀτάκτως ἑστῶτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς περὶ θύρας ὄντας εἴσω παριέναι· καὶ ταῦθ' ἅμα λέγων ὑπεξῄει βάδην ὡς παρα-
4 δώσων τινὶ τὸν ἵππον. οὕτως δὲ ὑπεκδὺς καὶ τοῖς ὑπαντῶσι τῶν Κορινθίων ἀθορύβως διαλεγόμενος καὶ κελεύων πρὸς τὸ Ἀπολλώνιον βαδίζειν, ὡς ἔλαθε πλησίον τῆς ἄκρας γενόμενος, ἀναπηδήσας ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον καὶ Κλεοπάτρῳ τῷ ἄρχοντι τῆς φρουρᾶς διακελευσάμενος ἐγκρατῶς

[1] With this chapter cf. the *Cleomenes*, xvii.—xix. 1.
[2] See chap. xli. 1.

Achaeans, but a vast confusion suddenly encompassed Aratus. He saw Peloponnesus shaking, and its cities everywhere stirred to revolt by restless agitators.[1]

XL. For there was no quiet anywhere, and no contentment with present conditions, but even among the Sicyonians and Corinthians themselves there were many who were known to have been in conference with Cleomenes, men whom a desire for private domination had long ago led into secret hostility towards the common interests. For the punishment of these men Aratus was clothed with absolute power,[2] and seizing those in Sicyon who were thus corrupted he put them to death; but when he tried to seek out and chastise those in Corinth, he roused the resentment of the populace there, which was already disaffected and ill at ease under the Achaean administration. So they assembled hastily in the temple of Apollo and sent for Aratus, determined to kill him or seize him, and then to revolt. He came, accordingly, leading his horse after him, as though he had no distrust or suspicion, and when many sprang up and abused and denounced him, with a composed countenance and gentle words he bade them sit down and not stand there shouting in disorderly fashion, but to admit also those who were outside at the door; and as he spoke, he withdrew slowly, as if he would hand his horse over to somebody. Having thus slipped out of the crowd, he conversed calmly with the Corinthians who met him, bidding them go to the temple of Apollo, and so, before his enemies were aware of it, came nigh the citadel. Then he leaped upon his horse, and after giving orders to Cleopater the commander of the garrison in the citadel to guard

φυλάττειν ἀφίππευσεν εἰς Σικυῶνα, τριάκοντα μὲν αὐτῷ στρατιωτῶν ἑπομένων, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐγκαταλιπόντων καὶ διαρρυέντων.

5 Αἰσθόμενοι δ' οἱ Κορίνθιοι μετ' ὀλίγον τὴν ἀπόδρασιν αὐτοῦ καὶ διώξαντες, ὡς οὐ κατέλαβον, μετεπέμψαντο τὸν Κλεομένη καὶ παρέδοσαν τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲν οἰομένῳ λαμβάνειν παρ' αὐτῶν τοσοῦτον ὅσον διήμαρτεν ἀφέντων Ἄρατον. οὗτος μὲν οὖν, προσγενομένων αὐτῷ τῶν τὴν λεγομένην Ἀκτὴν κατοικούντων καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐγχειρισάντων, ἀπεσταύρου καὶ περιετείχιζε τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον.

XLI. Τῷ δὲ Ἀράτῳ συνῆλθον εἰς Σικυῶνα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν οὐ πολλοί·[1] καὶ γενομένης ἐκκλησίας ᾑρέθη στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ. καὶ περιεστήσατο φρουρὰν ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πολιτῶν, τριάκοντα μὲν ἔτη καὶ τρία πεπολιτευμένος ἐν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, πεπρωτευκὼς δὲ καὶ δυνάμει καὶ δόξῃ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τότε δὲ ἔρημος καὶ ἄπορος συντετριμμένος, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ ναυαγίου τῆς πατρίδος ἐν τοσούτῳ 2 σάλῳ καὶ κινδύνῳ διαφερόμενος. καὶ γὰρ Αἰτωλοὶ δεομένου βοηθεῖν ἀπείπαντο, καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν χάριτι τοῦ Ἀράτου πρόθυμον οὖσαν οἱ περὶ Εὐρυκλείδην καὶ Μικίωνα διεκώλυσαν. ὄντων δὲ τῷ Ἀράτῳ καὶ χρημάτων ἐν Κορίνθῳ καὶ οἰκίας, ὁ Κλεομένης ἥψατο μὲν οὐδενὸς οὐδὲ ἄλλον εἴασε, μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς διοικητὰς ἐκέλευε

[1] **οὐ πολλοί** Ziegler, with S^g and most good MSS.: **οἱ πολλοί.**

it with a strong hand, he rode off to Sicyon, followed by only thirty of his soldiers; the rest deserted him and dispersed.

After a little while the Corinthians learned of his flight and pursued him, but did not overtake him. Then they sent for Cleomenes and delivered their city into his hands,[1] although he thought that he had gained by what they gave him far less than he had lost by their letting Aratus get away. Cleomenes, accordingly, after the accession to him of the inhabitants of Acte, as the district is called, who placed their cities in his hands, proceeded to run a wall and palisade about Acrocorinthus.

XLI. But a few of the Achaeans came together with Aratus at Sicyon; and in an assembly there held he was chosen general with full powers. And now he surrounded himself with a guard from among his own citizens. For three-and-thirty years he had directed public affairs among the Achaeans, and had enjoyed more power and reputation than any other Greek; but now, abandoned by his allies and helplessly crushed, he was like one drifting about in great surge and peril on the wreck of his native city. For the Aetolians refused him their aid when he asked for it, and the Athenians, whom gratitude made eager to help him, were prevented by Eurycleides and Micion.[2] As for the house and property belonging to Aratus in Corinth, Cleomenes would not touch them at all, nor permit anyone else to do so, but sent for the friends and stewards of Aratus and ordered them to administer and watch over

[1] Early in 223 B.C. The story is told very differently in the *Cleomenes*. xix. 1 f.

[2] Two leading orators of the time.

πάντα διοικεῖν[1] καὶ φυλάσσειν ὡς Ἀράτῳ λόγον
3 ὑφέξοντας· ἰδίᾳ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔπεμψε Τρίπυλον
καὶ πάλιν Μεγιστόνουν τὸν πατρῷον ὑπισχνού-
μενος ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ δώδεκα τάλαντα
σύνταξιν ἐνιαύσιον, ὑπερβαλλόμενος τῷ ἡμίσει
Πτολεμαῖον· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἓξ τάλαντα τῷ Ἀράτῳ
κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπέστελλεν. ἠξίου δὲ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν
ἡγεμὼν ἀναγορευθῆναι καὶ κοινῇ μετ' αὐτῶν
4 φυλάσσειν τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον. τοῦ δὲ Ἀράτου
φήσαντος ὡς οὐκ ἔχοι τὰ πράγματα, μᾶλλον δὲ
ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἔχοιτο, καὶ κατειρωνεύσασθαι δό-
ξαντος, ἐμβαλὼν εὐθὺς τὴν Σικυωνίαν ἐπόρθει
καὶ κατέφθειρε καὶ προσεκάθητο τῇ πόλει τρεῖς
μῆνας, ἐγκαρτεροῦντος τοῦ Ἀράτου καὶ δια-
ποροῦντος εἰ δέξεται τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἐπὶ τῷ
παραδοῦναι τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον· ἄλλως γὰρ οὐκ
ἐβούλετο βοηθεῖν.

XLII. Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀχαιοὶ συνεληλυθότες εἰς
Αἴγιον ἐκεῖ τὸν Ἄρατον ἐκάλουν. ἦν δὲ κίνδυνος,
τοῦ Κλεομένους πρὸς τῇ πόλει στρατοπεδεύοντος,
διελθεῖν. καὶ κατεῖχον οἱ πολῖται, δεόμενοι καὶ 1047
προήσεσθαι τὸ σῶμα τῶν πολεμίων ἐγγὺς ὄντων
οὐ φάσκοντες· ἐξήρτηντο δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ γυναῖκες
ἤδη καὶ παῖδες ὥσπερ πατρὸς κοινοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος
2 περιεχόμενοι καὶ δακρύοντες. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ θαρ-
ρύνας καὶ παραμυθησάμενος αὐτοὺς ἐξίππευσεν
ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν, ἔχων δέκα φίλους καὶ τὸν

[1] διοικεῖν suggested by Sintenis, with comparison of *Cleomenes*, xix. 3: ποιεῖν.

everything as though they are to render an account to Aratus. Moreover, he privately sent Tripylus to Aratus, and afterwards Megistonoüs, his stepfather, promising to give him, besides many other things, a yearly pension of twelve talents, thus doubling the amount which Aratus received annually from Ptolemy; for he sent six talents each year to Aratus.[1] Cleomenes demanded, however, that he should be proclaimed leader of the Achaeans, and together with them should have the keeping of Acrocorinthus. Aratus made answer that he did not control affairs, but rather was controlled by them; whereupon Cleomenes, thinking himself mocked, at once invaded the territory of Sicyon, ravaged and laid it waste, and encamped before the city three months. All this while Aratus held out patiently, and debated with himself whether he should accept Antigonus as an ally on condition of handing over to him Acrocorinthus! for on any other terms Antigonus was unwilling to give him help.[2]

XLII. Accordingly, the Achaeans came together at Aegium and invited Aratus thither. But there was danger in his trying to get there, since Cleomenes was encamped before Sicyon. Besides, the citizens tried to detain him, beseeching him not to go and refusing to let him expose himself while the enemy were near; and presently the women and children were clinging to him and tearfully embracing him as a common father and preserver. Nevertheless, after encouraging and comforting them, he rode out to the sea, accompanied by ten friends and by his

[1] Ptolemy III., surnamed Euergetes, king of Egypt 247—222 B.C.

[2] Cf. the *Cleomenes*, xix. 3 f.

υἱὸν ἤδη νεανίαν ὄντα· καὶ παρορμούντων ἐκεῖ πλοίων, ἐπιβάντες εἰς Αἴγιον παρεκομίσθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐν ᾗ καλεῖν τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ παραδιδόναι τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον.
3 ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Ἄρατος πρὸς αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὁμήρων. ἐφ' οἷς οἱ Κορίνθιοι χαλεπῶς φέροντες τά τε χρήματα διήρπασαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τῷ Κλεομένει δωρεὰν ἔδωκαν.

XLIII. Τοῦ δ' Ἀντιγόνου προσιόντος ἤδη μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως (ἦγε δὲ πεζοὺς δισμυρίους Μακεδόνας, ἱππεῖς δὲ χιλίους καὶ τριακοσίους) ἀπήντα μετὰ τῶν δημιουργῶν ὁ Ἄρατος αὐτῷ κατὰ θάλατταν εἰς Πηγάς, λαθὼν τοὺς πολεμίους, οὐ πάνυ τι θαρρῶν τὸν Ἀντίγονον οὐδὲ πιστεύων τοῖς Μακεδόσιν. ᾔδει γὰρ ηὐξημένον ἑαυτὸν ἐξ ὧν ἐκείνους κακῶς ἐποίησε καὶ πρώτην εἰληφότα μεγίστην ὑπόθεσιν τῆς πολιτείας τὴν πρὸς
2 Ἀντίγονον τὸν παλαιὸν ἔχθραν. ἀλλὰ ὁρῶν ἀπαραίτητον ἐπικειμένην ἀνάγκην καὶ τὸν καιρόν, ᾧ δουλεύουσιν οἱ δοκοῦντες ἄρχειν, ἐχώρει πρὸς τὸ δεινόν. ὁ δὲ Ἀντίγονος, ὥς τις αὐτῷ προσιόντα τὸν Ἄρατον ἔφρασε, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἠσπάσατο μετρίως καὶ κοινῶς, ἐκεῖνον δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν πρώτην ἀπάντησιν ἐδέξατο τῇ τιμῇ περιττῶς, καὶ τἆλλα πειρώμενος ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντος ἐνδοτέρω τῆς χρείας προσηγάγετο.
3 Καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὁ Ἄρατος οὐ μόνον ἐν πράγμασι

son, who was now a young man. Vessels were lying at anchor off the shore, and upon these the party were conveyed to Aegium, where the assembly was sitting. Here it was voted to call in Antigonus and hand over to him Acrocorinthus.[1] Aratus even sent his son to Antigonus with the other hostages. At this the Corinthians were indignant; they plundered his property and made a present of his house to Cleomenes.

XLIII. And now, as Antigonus was approaching with his forces (he was followed by twenty thousand Macedonian footmen and thirteen hundred horse), Aratus, in company with his High Councillors,[2] went by sea to meet him at Pegae, eluding the enemy. He had no very great confidence in Antigonus, and put no trust in the Macedonians. For he knew that his own rise to power had been a consequence of the harm he had done to them, and that he had found the first and the chief basis for his conduct of affairs in his hatred towards the former Antigonus.[3] But seeing how inexorable was the necessity laid upon him in the demands of the hour, to which those we call rulers are slaves, he went on towards the dread ordeal. But Antigonus, when he was told that Aratus was coming to him, gave the rest of the party an ordinary and moderate welcome; Aratus, however, he received at this first meeting with superlative honour, and afterwards, finding him to be a man of worth and wisdom, drew him in closer intimacy to himself.

For Aratus was not only helpful in large under-

[1] In the spring of 223 B.C. Cf. the *Cleomenes*, xix. 4.
[2] A body of ten men, chosen as admirers of the general.
[3] Antigonus Gonatas. See the note on xxxiv. 1.

μεγάλοις ὠφέλιμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ σχολάζοντι βασιλεῖ
συγγενέσθαι παρ' ὁντινοῦν ἐπίχαρις. διό, καίπερ
ὢν νέος ὁ Ἀντίγονος, ὡς κατενόησε τὴν φύσιν
τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μηδὲν ἀργὸν εἰς φιλίαν βασιλικὴν
οὖσαν, οὐ μόνον Ἀχαιῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Μακεδόνων
τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ πάντων μάλιστα[1] χρώμενος
4 ἐκείνῳ διετέλει· καὶ τὸ σημεῖον ἀπέβαινεν ὡς ὁ
θεὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἔδειξε. λέγεται γὰρ οὐ πρὸ
πολλοῦ θύοντι τῷ Ἀράτῳ δύο χολὰς ἐν ἥπατι
φανῆναι μιᾷ πιμελῇ περιεχομένας· καὶ τὸν
μάντιν εἰπεῖν ὡς ταχὺ πρὸς τὰ ἔχθιστα καὶ
πολεμιώτατα σύνεισιν εἰς ἄκραν φιλίαν. τότε
μὲν οὖν παρήνεγκε τὸ ῥηθέν, οὐδὲ ἄλλως πολὺ
νέμων πίστεως ἱεροῖς καὶ μαντεύμασιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ
5 λογισμῷ χρώμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὕστερον εὖ χωροῦν-
τι τῷ πολέμῳ συναγαγὼν ὁ Ἀντίγονος ἑστίασιν
ἐν Κορίνθῳ καὶ πολλοὺς ὑποδεχόμενος τὸν Ἄρα-
τον ἐπάνω κατέκλινεν ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν
αἰτήσας περιβόλαιον ἠρώτησεν εἰ δοκεῖ κἀκείνῳ
ψῦχος εἶναι, τοῦ δὲ καὶ πάνυ ῥιγοῦν φήσαντος,
ἐκέλευσε προσχωρεῖν ἐγγυτέρω καὶ δάπιδος κομι-
σθείσης ἀμφοτέρους ὁμοῦ περιέβαλον οἱ παῖδες,
τότε δὴ τὸν Ἄρατον ἀναμνησθέντα τῶν ἱερῶν
ἐκείνων γέλως ἔλαβε, καὶ διηγεῖτο τῷ βασιλεῖ
τὸ σημεῖον καὶ τὴν προαγόρευσιν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα
μὲν ἐπράχθη χρόνοις ὕστερον.

XLIV. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Πηγαῖς δόντες καὶ λαβόντες ὅρκους εὐθὺς ἐβάδιζον ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀγῶνες ἦσαν, εὖ πεφραγμένου

[1] πάντων μάλιστα Coraës and Ziegler, after Reiske: πάντα.

takings, but also more acceptable than anyone else as a companion in the king's leisure hours. Therefore, although Antigonus was young, as soon as he perceived that Aratus was naturally well fitted to be a king's friend, he continually treated him with greater intimacy than anyone else, whether of the Achaeans, or of the Macedonians in his following; and thus the omen proved true which the god had given to Aratus in his sacrificial victims. For it is related that as he was sacrificing a little while before this, a liver was found which had two gall-bladders enclosed in a single coil of fat; whereupon the seer had declared that Aratus would soon enter into close friendship with what he most hated and fought against. At the time, then, Aratus paid no heed to the utterance, since in general he put little faith in victims and divinations, and trusted rather to his reasoning powers. Later, however, when the war was going on well, Antigonus gave a feast in Corinth, at which he had many guests, and made Aratus recline just above himself. After a little while the king called for a coverlet, and asked Aratus if he too did not think it cold; and when Aratus replied that he was very chilly, the king ordered him to come nearer; so that the rug which the servants brought was thrown over both of them together. Then, indeed, Aratus called to mind his sacrificial victims and burst out laughing, and told the king about the omen and the seer's prediction. But this took place at a later time.

XLIV. At Pegae Antigonus and Aratus exchanged oaths of fidelity, and straightway marched against the enemy at Corinth. And there were conflicts about the city, Cleomenes being well fortified, and

τοῦ Κλεομένους καὶ τῶν Κορινθίων ἀμυνομένων προθύμως. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀριστοτέλης ὁ Ἀργεῖος φίλος ὢν Ἀράτου διαπέμπεται κρύφα πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς ἀποστήσων τὴν πόλιν, εἰ στρατιώτας
2 ἐκεῖνος ἔχων ἔλθοι. τοῦ δὲ Ἀράτου φράσαντος τῷ Ἀντιγόνῳ καὶ μετὰ χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων εἰς Ἐπίδαυρον ἐξ Ἰσθμοῦ πλοίοις κομιζομένου κατὰ τάχος, οἱ μὲν Ἀργεῖοι προεξαναστάντες ἐπέθεντο τοῖς τοῦ Κλεομένους καὶ κατέκλεισαν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ὁ δὲ Κλεομένης πυθόμενος 1048
ταῦτα, καὶ δείσας μὴ κατασχόντες οἱ πολέμιοι τὸ Ἄργος ἀποκόψωσιν αὐτὸν τῆς οἴκαδε σωτηρίας, ἐκλιπὼν τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον ἔτι νυκτὸς ἐβοή-
3 θει. καὶ παρελθὼν μὲν εἰς Ἄργος ἔφθη καὶ τροπήν τινα τῶν πολεμίων ἐποίησεν, ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον Ἀράτου προσφερομένου καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιφαινομένου μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς Μαντίνειαν. ἐκ τούτου τοῖς μὲν Ἀχαιοῖς πάλιν αἱ πόλεις ἅπασαι προσεχώρησαν, Ἀντίγονος δὲ τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον παρέλαβεν, Ἄρατος δὲ στρατηγὸς αἱρεθεὶς ὑπ' Ἀργείων ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς Ἀντιγόνῳ τά τε τῶν τυράννων καὶ τὰ τῶν προδοτῶν χρήματα δωρεὰν δοῦναι.
4 τὸν δὲ Ἀριστόμαχον ἐν Κεγχρεαῖς στρεβλώσαντες κατεπόντισαν, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ μάλιστα κακῶς ἤκουσεν ὁ Ἄρατος, ὡς ἄνθρωπον οὐ πονηρόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κεχρημένον ἐκείνῳ καὶ πεπεισμένον ἀφεῖναι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ προσαγαγεῖν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς τὴν πόλιν, ὅμως περιϊδὼν παρανόμως ἀπολλύμενον.

XLV. Ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκείνῳ τὰς αἰτίας ἐπέφερον, οἷον ὅτι τὴν μὲν Κορινθίων πόλιν

the Corinthians defending themselves with ardour. Meanwhile, however, Aristotle the Argive, who was a friend of Aratus, sent secretly to him and promised to bring his city to revolt from Cleomenes if Aratus would come thither with soldiers. So Aratus, after informing Antigonus, took fifteen hundred men and sailed from the Isthmus to Epidaurus with all speed.[1] But the Argives, revolting prematurely, attacked the garrison of Cleomenes and shut them up in the citadel, and Cleomenes, learning of this, and fearing that if his enemies got possession of Argos they would cut him off from a safe return home, abandoned Acrocorinthus while it was still night and went to their aid. He succeeded in getting into Argos first, routing some of the enemy on the way; but shortly afterwards Aratus came up, and Antigonus showed himself with his forces, and Cleomenes therefore retreated to Mantineia. Upon this the cities all came over to the Achaeans again, Acrocorinthus was handed over to Antigonus, and Aratus, having been chosen general by the Argives, persuaded them to make a present to Antigonus of the property of the tyrants and of the traitors. As for Aristomachus, he was tortured at Cenchreae and then thrown into the sea; for which deed, more than any other, Aratus was reproached, on the ground that he had allowed a man to be lawlessly put to death who was not wicked, but had coöperated with him, and at his persuasion had renounced his power and attached his city to the Achaean League.[2]

XLV. Presently, too, men began to blame Aratus for whatever else was done, as, for instance, that the

[1] Cf. the *Cleomenes*, xx. 3 f.
[2] Cf. chap. xxxv.

Ἀντιγόνῳ δωρεὰν ἔδωκαν, ὥσπερ κώμην τὴν τυχοῦσαν, τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν δὲ συνεχώρησαν αὐτῷ διαρπάσαντι φρουρὰν ἐμβαλεῖν Μακεδονικήν, ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ ἄλλῳ μὴ γράφειν βασιλεῖ μηδὲ πρεσβεύειν πρὸς ἄλλον ἄκοντος Ἀντιγόνου,
2 τρέφειν τε καὶ μισθοδοτεῖν ἠναγκάζοντο τοὺς Μακεδόνας, θυσίας δὲ καὶ πομπὰς καὶ ἀγῶνας Ἀντιγόνῳ συνετέλουν, ἀρξαμένων τῶν Ἀράτου πολιτῶν καὶ δεξαμένων τῇ πόλει τὸν Ἀντίγονον ὑπ' Ἀράτου ξενιζόμενον, ᾐτιῶντο πάντων ἐκεῖνον, ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι τὰς ἡνίας ἐκείνῳ παραδεδωκὼς καὶ τῇ ῥύμῃ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐφελκόμενος ἐξουσίας οὐδενὸς ἦν ἢ μόνης φωνῆς ἔτι κύριος, ἐπισφαλῆ
3 τὴν παρρησίαν ἐχούσης. ἐπεὶ φανερῶς γε πολλὰ τῶν πραττομένων ἐλύπει τὸν Ἄρατον, ὥσπερ τὸ περὶ τῶν εἰκόνων· ὁ γὰρ Ἀντίγονος τὰς μὲν τῶν ἐν Ἄργει τυράννων καταβεβλημένας ἀνέστησε, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἑλόντων τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον ἑστώσας ἀνέτρεψε πλὴν μιᾶς τῆς ἐκείνου· καὶ πολλὰ περὶ
4 τούτων δεηθεὶς ὁ Ἄρατος οὐκ ἔπεισεν. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ Μαντίνειαν οὐχ Ἑλληνικῶς διῳκῆσθαι τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς. κρατήσαντες γὰρ αὐτῶν δι' Ἀντιγόνου τοὺς μὲν ἐνδοξοτάτους καὶ πρώτους ἀπέκτειναν, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τοὺς μὲν ἀπέδοντο, τοὺς δ' εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἀπέστειλαν ἐν πέδαις[1] δεδεμένους, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἠνδραποδίσαντο, τοῦ δὲ συναχθέντος ἀργυρίου τὸ τρίτον αὐτοὶ διείλοντο, τὰς δὲ δύο μοίρας ἔνειμαν τοῖς

[1] ἐν πέδαις Sint.², followed by Ziegler: πέδαις.

Achaeans made a present to Antigonus of the city of Corinth, as if it had been an ordinary village; that they allowed the king to plunder Orchomenus and put a Macedonian garrison in it; that they decreed not to write or send an embassy to any other king against the wishes of Antigonus; that they were forced to furnish supplies and pay for the Macedonian troops; and that they celebrated sacrifices, processions, and games in honour of Antigonus, the fellow-citizens of Aratus leading the way and receiving Antigonus into their city, where he was the guest of Aratus. For all these things men blamed Aratus, not knowing that, since he had entrusted the reins to the king and was dragged along in the wake of the king's power, he was no longer master of anything except his tongue, which it was dangerous for him to use with freedom. At any rate Aratus was plainly annoyed at many acts of the king, and especially at his treatment of the statues in Argos; for those of the tyrants, which had been cast down, Antigonus set up again, while those of the captors of Acrocorinthus, which were standing, he threw down, that of Aratus only excepted; and though Aratus made many appeals to him in the matter, he could not persuade him. It was thought also that the treatment of Mantineia by the Achaeans was not in accord with the Greek spirit. For after mastering that city with the aid of Antigonus, they put to death the leading and most noted citizens, and of the rest, some they sold into slavery, while others they sent off into Macedonia in chains, and made slaves of their wives and children, dividing a third of the money thus raised among themselves, and giving the remaining two-thirds to the Macedonians.

5 Μακεδόσι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἔσχε τὸν τῆς ἀμύνης νόμον· καὶ γὰρ εἰ δεινὸν ἄνδρας ὁμοφύλους καὶ συγγενεῖς οὕτω μεταχειρίσασθαι δι' ὀργήν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀνάγκαις γλυκὺ γίνεται καὶ σκληρόν,[1] κατὰ Σιμωνίδην, ὥσπερ ἀλγοῦντι τῷ θυμῷ καὶ φλεγμαίνοντι θεραπείαν καὶ ἀναπλήρωσιν προσφερόντων. τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα πραχθέντα περὶ τὴν πόλιν οὔτ' εἰς καλὴν οὔτ' εἰς ἀναγκαίαν ἐστὶ
6 θέσθαι τῷ Ἀράτῳ πρόφασιν. τῶν γὰρ Ἀχαιῶν τὴν πόλιν παρ' Ἀντιγόνου δωρεὰν λαβόντων καὶ κατοικίζειν ἐγνωκότων αὐτὸς οἰκιστὴς αἱρεθεὶς καὶ στρατηγὸς ὢν ἐψηφίσατο μηκέτι καλεῖν Μαντίνειαν, ἀλλ' Ἀντιγόνειαν, ὃ καὶ μέχρι νῦν καλεῖται. καὶ δοκεῖ δι' ἐκεῖνον ἡ μὲν ἐρατεινὴ Μαντίνεια παντάπασιν ἐξαληλίφθαι, διαμένει δὲ ἡ πόλις ἐπώνυμος τῶν ἀπολεσάντων καὶ ἀνελόντων τοὺς πολίτας.

XLVI. Ἐκ τούτου Κλεομένης μὲν ἡττηθεὶς μάχῃ μεγάλῃ περὶ Σελλασίαν ἐξέλιπε τὴν Σπάρτην καὶ ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, Ἀντίγονος δὲ πάντα τὰ δίκαια καὶ φιλάνθρωπα τῷ Ἀράτῳ πεποιηκὼς ἀνέζευξεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, 1049
κἀκεῖ νοσῶν ἤδη τὸν διάδοχον τῆς βασιλείας Φίλιππον, οὔπω πάνυ μειράκιον ὄντα, πέμπων εἰς Πελοπόννησον Ἀράτῳ μάλιστα προσέχειν ἐκέλευσε καὶ δι' ἐκείνου ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐντυχεῖν
2 καὶ γνωρισθῆναι τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς. καὶ μέντοι καὶ

[1] καὶ σκληρόν with Bergk (*Poet. Lyr. Gr.* iii.[4] p. 530): καὶ οὐ σκληρόν.

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[1] The repeated treacheries of the Mantineians towards the Achaeans are related at length in Polybius, ii. 57 f.

[2] Homer, *Iliad*, ii. 607.

It is true that this came under the law of reprisal;[1] for though it is a terrible thing to treat men of the same race and blood in this way, out of anger, still "in dire stress even cruelty is sweet," as Simonides says, when men, as it were, give satisfaction and healing care to a mind that is in anguish and inflamed. But the subsequent treatment of the city by Aratus was neither necessary nor honourable, and cannot be excused. For after the Achaeans had received the city from Antigonus as a present and had decided to colonize it, Aratus himself was chosen to be the founder of the new settlement, and being then general, got a decree passed that the city should no longer be called Mantineia, but Antigoneia, and this is its name down to the present time. And so it was due to Aratus that the name of "lovely Mantineia"[2] was altogether extinguished, and the city continues to bear the name of him who destroyed and slew its former citizens.[3]

XLVI. After this, Cleomenes, having been defeated in a great battle at Sellasia,[4] forsook Sparta and sailed off to Egypt, and Antigonus, after having accorded to Aratus fair and kindly treatment in every way, led his army back to Macedonia. There, being now a sick man, he sent Philip, his successor in the kingdom, who was still a stripling, into the Peloponnesus, and urged him to attach himself to Aratus above all others, and through him to deal with the cities and make the acquaintance of the Achaeans.

[3] The old name of the city was restored by the Emperor Hadrian. Pausanias, viii. 8. 12.

[4] In 221 B.C., cf. the *Cleomenes*, xxviii. ff.

παραλαβὼν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἄρατος οὕτως διέθηκεν ὥστε πολλῆς μὲν εὐνοίας πρὸς αὐτόν, πολλῆς δὲ πρὸς τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις φιλοτιμίας καὶ ὁρμῆς μεστὸν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἀποστεῖλαι.

XLVII. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀντιγόνου καταφρονήσαντες Αἰτωλοὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν διὰ τὴν ῥαθυμίαν (ἐθισθέντες γὰρ ἀλλοτρίαις σώζεσθαι χερσὶ καὶ τοῖς Μακεδόνων ὅπλοις αὐτοὺς ὑπεσταλκότες ἐν ἀργίᾳ πολλῇ καὶ ἀταξίᾳ διῆγον) ἐπέθεντο τοῖς κατὰ Πελοπόννησον πράγμασι·[1] καὶ τὴν μὲν Πατρέων καὶ Δυμαίων λεηλασίαν ὁδοῦ πάρεργον ἐποιήσαντο, τὴν δὲ Μεσσήνην ἐμβαλόντες ἐπόρ-
2 θουν. ἐφ᾽ οἷς ὁ Ἄρατος ἀγανακτῶν καὶ τὸν στρατηγοῦντα τότε τῶν Ἀχαιῶν Τιμόξενον ὁρῶν ὀκνοῦντα καὶ διατρίβοντα τὸν χρόνον, ἤδη τῆς στρατηγίας αὐτῷ τελευτώσης, αὐτὸς ᾑρημένος ἄρχειν μετ᾽ ἐκεῖνον προέλαβεν ἡμέραις πέντε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἕνεκα τοῦ βοηθῆσαι Μεσσηνίοις. καὶ συναγαγὼν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς τοῖς τε σώμασιν ἀγυμνάστους ὄντας καὶ ταῖς διανοίαις ἐκλελυμένους
3 πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἡττᾶται περὶ Καφύας·[2] καὶ θυμικώτερον ἐστρατηγηκέναι δόξας οὕτως αὖ πάλιν ἀπημβλύνθη καὶ προήκατο τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας, ὥστε πολλάκις λαβὴν τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς παρασχόντας ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ περιορᾶν ὥσπερ κωμάζοντας ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ μετὰ
4 πολλῆς ἀσελγείας καὶ θρασύτητος. αὖθις οὖν τὰς χεῖρας ὀρέγοντες εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐπεσπῶντο καὶ κατῆγον ἐπὶ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις τὸν Φίλιππον, οὐχ ἥκιστα διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἄρατον

[1] In 221 B.C. See the *Cleomenes*, xxx.
[2] In 220 B.C. See the *Cleomenes*, xxxiv. 1.

And indeed Aratus did take the prince in hand, and managed matters so as to send him back to Macedonia full of great goodwill towards his patron and of ardour and ambition for the conduct of Hellenic affairs.

XLVII. But upon the death of Antigonus[1] the Aetolians, despising the Achaeans on account of their slothful ways (for now that they were accustomed to save themselves by other men's prowess and had taken shelter behind the Macedonian arms, they were living in great inactivity and lack of discipline), proceeded to interfere in the affairs of Peloponnesus;[2] and after plundering the territories of Patrae and Dyme on their way, they invaded Messenia and ravaged it. At this Aratus was incensed, and seeing that Timoxenus, who at that time was general of the Achaeans, was hesitant and dilatory, since his term of office was just about to expire, he himself, having been chosen to succeed Timoxenus, anticipated his term of office by five days for the sake of giving aid to the Messenians. And having assembled the Achaeans, who were physically and mentally unfit for war, he met with defeat at Caphyae. Then, being thought to have conducted the campaign with too much ardour, his purposes were once more blunted and he gave up the cause and his hopes for lost, so that oftentimes, when the Aetolians gave him an advantage, he neglected it, and suffered them to revel, as it were, in Peloponnesus, with great boldness and wantonness. Once more, therefore, the Achaeans stretched out their hands imploringly to Macedonia, and brought Philip down to take part in Hellenic affairs, above all things because his goodwill towards Aratus

εὔνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ πίστιν ἐλπίζοντες εὐκόλῳ περὶ πάντα χρήσεσθαι καὶ χειροήθει.

XLVIII. Καὶ τότε πρῶτον Ἀπελλοῦ καὶ Μεγαλέου καί τινων αὐλικῶν ἄλλων διαβαλλόντων τὸν Ἄρατον ἀναπεισθεὶς ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ συναρχαιρεσιάσας τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐναντίας στάσεως, ἐσπούδασε τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἑλέσθαι στρατηγὸν
2 Ἐπήρατον. ὡς δ' ἐκείνου μὲν καταφρονουμένου τελέως ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, τοῦ δὲ Ἀράτου παραμελοῦντος ἐγίνετο τῶν χρησίμων οὐδέν, ἔγνω διαμαρτάνων τοῦ παντὸς ὁ Φίλιππος. καὶ ἀνακρουσάμενος αὖθις ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄρατον ὅλος ἦν ἐκείνου, καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῷ πρός τε δύναμιν καὶ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν ἐπιδιδόντων ἐξήρτητο τοῦ ἀνδρός,
3 ὡς δι' ἐκεῖνον εὐδοκιμῶν καὶ αὐξόμενος. ἐδόκει τε πᾶσιν ὁ Ἄρατος οὐ μόνον δημοκρατίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλείας ἀγαθὸς εἶναι παιδαγωγός· ἡ γὰρ προαίρεσις αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἦθος ὡς χρῶμα ταῖς πράξεσι τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπεφαίνετο. καὶ γὰρ ἡ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἁμαρτόντας μετριότης τοῦ νεανίσκου καὶ ἡ πρὸς Κρῆτας ὁμιλία, δι' ἧς ὅλην προσηγάγετο τὴν νῆσον ἡμέραις ὀλίγαις, ἥ τε πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς στρατεία γενομένη θαυμαστῶς ἐνεργὸς εὐπειθείας μὲν τῷ Φιλίππῳ δόξαν, εὐβου-
4 λίας δὲ τῷ Ἀράτῳ προσετίθει. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα μᾶλλον οἱ βασιλικοὶ φθονοῦντες, ὡς οὐδὲν ἐπέραινον κρύφα διαβάλλοντες, ἀναφανδὸν ἐλοιδοροῦντο καὶ προσέκρουον αὐτῷ παρὰ τοὺς πότους μετὰ

[1] Cf. Polybius, v. 30.

and his confidence in him led them to hope that they would find him easy-tempered in all things and manageable.

XLVIII. And now for the first time Apelles, Megaleas, and sundry other courtiers made false charges against Aratus to which the king listened, and joining in the canvass made by those of the opposite faction, he favoured the election of Eperatus as general of the Achaeans. But Eperatus was altogether despised by the Achaeans,[1] and as long as Aratus gave little heed to public matters nothing went well. Philip therefore perceived that he had been entirely wrong. So he reversed his course, went back to Aratus, and was wholly his; and since the progress of events now brought him increased power and reputation, he depended altogether upon Aratus, convinced that his repute and strength were due to him. And all the world thought that Aratus was a good guardian and tutor for a kingdom no less than for a democracy; for his principles and character were manifest, like colour in a fabric, in the actions of the king. For instance, the moderation of the young prince in dealing with the offending Lacedaemonians, his engaging behaviour towards the Cretans, by means of which he won the whole island to obedience in a few days, and the astonishingly vigorous conduct of his campaign against the Aetolians, all added to the reputation of Philip for taking good advice, and to that of Aratus for giving it. For this reason, too, the royal courtiers were all the more envious of him, and since they could accomplish nothing by their secret calumnies, they took to abusing and insulting him openly at their banquets,

πολλῆς ἀσελγείας καὶ βωμολοχίας· ἅπαξ δὲ καὶ
λίθοις βάλλοντες ἀπιόντα εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν μετὰ
τὸ δεῖπνον κατεδίωξαν. ἐφ' οἷς ὁ Φίλιππος
ὀργισθεὶς εὐθὺς μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐζημίωσεν εἴκοσι
ταλάντοις, ὕστερον δὲ λυμαίνεσθαι τὰ πράγματα
καὶ ταράττειν δοκοῦντας ἀπέκτεινεν.

XLIX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς τύχης εὐροούσης ἐπαιρό-
μενος τοῖς πράγμασι πολλὰς μὲν ἀνέφυε καὶ
μεγάλας ἐπιθυμίας, ἡ δ' ἔμφυτος κακία, τὸν παρὰ 1050
φύσιν σχηματισμὸν ἐκβιαζομένη καὶ ἀναδύουσα,
κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπεγύμνου καὶ διέφαινεν αὐτοῦ τὸ
ἦθος, πρῶτον μὲν ἰδίᾳ τὸν νεώτερον Ἄρατον
ἠδίκει περὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐλάν-
θανεν ἐφέστιος ὢν καὶ ξενιζόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν·
ἔπειτα πρὸς τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς ἐξετραχύνετο πολι-
τείας καὶ φανερὸς ἦν ἤδη τὸν Ἄρατον ἀπο-
2 σειόμενος. ἀρχὴν δὲ ὑποψίας τὰ Μεσσηνιακὰ
παρέσχε. στασιασάντων γὰρ αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν Ἄρατος
ὑστέρει βοηθῶν, ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ πρό-
τερον ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν εὐθὺς οἶστρόν τινα
κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐνέβαλε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἰδίᾳ μὲν
ἐρωτῶν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν Μεσσηνίων εἰ νόμους
κατὰ τῶν πολλῶν οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ πάλιν
τοὺς τῶν πολλῶν προεστῶτας εἰ χεῖρας κατὰ
3 τῶν τυραννούντων οὐκ ἔχουσιν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου
θαρρήσαντες οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν
δημαγωγῶν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ μετὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἐπελ-

with great wantonness and scurrility; and once they actually pursued and threw stones at him as he was going to his tent after supper. At this Philip was enraged, and for the nonce fined them twenty talents; afterwards, however, regarding them as a noxious and confusing element in his affairs, he put them to death.[1]

XLIX. But soon, as the king's fortune flowed smoothly on, he was lifted up by his success, and developed many inordinate desires; his inherent badness, too, forcing aside the unnatural restraints of his assumed deportment and making its way to the light, little by little laid bare and revealed his true character. In the first place he inflicted a private wrong upon the younger Aratus by corrupting his wife, and was for a long time undetected, since he was a housemate and a guest of the family; in the second place, he began to show hostility towards the civil polities of the Greeks, and it was presently clear that he was trying to shake off Aratus. First grounds of suspicion were afforded by his conduct at Messene. For there was factional strife in the city, and Aratus was tardy in coming to its aid, and Philip, who got to the city a day before Aratus, at once goaded on the two parties against one another. In private he asked the generals of the Messenians if they had not laws to enforce against the common people, and again in private he asked the leaders of the common people if they had not hands to lift against the tyrants. Upon this the officials plucked up courage and tried to lay hands upon the leaders of the people, and they, coming to the attack at the head of their followers,

[1] Cf. Polybius, v. 15 f.

θόντες τούς τε ἄρχοντας ἀπέκτειναν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀλίγον ἀπολείποντας διακοσίων.

L. Οὕτω δὲ δεινὸν ἔργον ἐξειργασμένου τοῦ Φιλίππου, καὶ συγκρούοντος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἑαυτοῖς τοὺς Μεσσηνίους, ἐπελθὼν ὁ Ἄρατος αὐτός τε δῆλος ἦν φέρων βαρέως καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπιτιμῶντα πικρῶς τῷ Φιλίππῳ καὶ λοιδορούμενον οὐκ ἐκώλυσεν. ἐδόκει δὲ ὁ νεανίσκος ἐρᾶν τοῦ Φιλίππου· καὶ τότε λέγων εἶπε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς οὐδὲ καλὸς ἔτι φαίνοιτο τὴν ὄψιν αὐτῷ τοιαῦτα δράσας,
2 ἀλλὰ πάντων αἴσχιστος. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὐδὲν ἀντεῖπε, καίπερ ἐπίδοξος ὤν, ὑπ' ὀργῆς καὶ πολλάκις ἐξυλακτήσας λέγοντος αὐτοῦ, τὸν δὲ πρεσβύτερον, ὡς ἐνηνοχὼς πρᾴως τὰ λεχθέντα καί τις ὢν μέτριος καὶ πολιτικὸς τὴν φύσιν, ἀνέστησεν ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου τὴν δεξιὰν ἐμβαλών, καὶ προσῆγεν εἰς τὸν Ἰθωμάταν τῷ τε Διῒ θύσων καὶ
3 θεωρήσων τὸν τόπον. ἔστι γὰρ οὐχ ἧττον εὐερκὴς τοῦ Ἀκροκορίνθου, καὶ λαβὼν φρουρὰν γίνεται χαλεπὸς καὶ δυσεκβίαστος τοῖς παροικοῦσιν. ἀναβὰς δὲ καὶ θύσας, ὡς προσήνεγκεν αὐτῷ τὰ σπλάγχνα τοῦ βοὸς ὁ μάντις, ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσὶν ὑπολαβὼν ἐδείκνυε τῷ τε Ἀράτῳ καὶ τῷ Φαρίῳ Δημητρίῳ, παρὰ μέρος ἀποκλίνων εἰς ἑκάτερον καὶ πυνθανόμενος τί καθορῶσιν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, κρατοῦντα τῆς ἄκρας αὐτὸν ἢ τοῖς Μεσση-
4 νίοις ἀποδιδόντα. γελάσας οὖν ὁ Δημήτριος, "Εἰ μέν," ἔφη, "μάντεως ἔχεις ψυχήν, ἀφήσεις τὸν τόπον· εἰ δὲ βασιλέως, ἀμφοτέρων τῶν κεράτων τὸν βοῦν καθέξεις," αἰνιττόμενος τὴν Πελοπόν-

[1] A precinct of Zeus, on the summit of Mt. Ithome. Cf. Pausanias, iv. 3. 9.

slew the officials and nearly two hundred citizens besides.

L. After this outrageous deed of Philip's, and while he was striving more than ever to set the Messenians by the ears, Aratus reached the city. He showed clearly that he was indignant himself, and would not check his son when he bitterly reproached and reviled Philip. Now, it would seem that the young man was a lover of Philip; and so at this time he told Philip, among other things, that he no longer thought him fair to look upon, after so foul a deed, but the most repulsive of men. Philip made no answer to him, although it was expected that he would, since in his anger he had many times cried out savagely while the young man was speaking, but as though he meekly submitted to what had been said and was a person of moderation and not above the ordinary citizen, he gave the elder Aratus his hand, led him forth from the theatre, and brought him to the Ithomatas,[1] in order to sacrifice to Zeus and take a view of the place. For it is quite as well walled in as Acrocorinthus, and with a garrison in it is difficult of access and a hard place for its neighbours to take by force. Thither Philip went up, and offered sacrifice, and when the seer brought him the entrails of the ox, he took them in both hands and showed them to Aratus and Demetrius of Pharos, leaning towards each one in turn and asking them what indications they saw in the omens; was he to be master of the citadel, or to give it back to the Messenians? Demetrius, with a laugh, replied: "If thou hast the spirit of a seer, thou wilt give up the place; but if that of a king, thou wilt hold the ox by both its horns," speaking darkly of Peloponnesus,

νησον, ὡς, εἰ προσλάβοι τὸν Ἰθωμάταν τῷ Ἀκροκορίνθῳ, παντάπασιν ἐσομένην ὑποχείριον καὶ
5 ταπεινήν. ὁ δὲ Ἄρατος ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν ἡσύχαζε, δεομένου δὲ τοῦ Φιλίππου τὸ φαινόμενον λέγειν, "Πολλὰ μέν," εἶπεν, "ὦ Φίλιππε, Κρητῶν ὄρη καὶ μεγάλα, πολλαὶ δὲ Βοιωτῶν ἄκραι καὶ Φωκέων ἐκπεφύκασι τῆς γῆς· εἰσὶ δέ που πολλοὶ καὶ τῆς Ἀκαρνάνων τοῦτο μὲν χερσαῖοι, τοῦτο δ' ἔναλοι τόποι θαυμαστὰς ὀχυρότητας ἔχοντες· ἀλλ' οὐδένα τούτων κατείληφας, καὶ πάντες
6 ἑκουσίως σοι ποιοῦσι τὸ προστασσόμενον. λῃσταὶ γὰρ ἐμφύονται πέτραις καὶ κρημνῶν περιέχονται, βασιλεῖ δὲ πίστεως καὶ χάριτος ἰσχυρότερον οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ὀχυρώτερον. ταῦτά σοι τὸ Κρητικὸν ἀνοίγει πέλαγος, ταῦτα τὴν Πελοπόννησον. ἀπὸ τούτων ὁρμώμενος σὺ τοσοῦτος ἡλικίαν τῶν μὲν ἡγεμών, τῶν δὲ κύριος ἤδη καθέστηκας." ἔτι λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τὰ μὲν σπλάγχνα τῷ μάντει παρέδωκεν ὁ Φίλιππος, ἐκεῖνον δὲ τῆς χειρὸς ἐπισπασάμενος, "Δεῦρο τοίνυν," ἔφη, "τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἴωμεν·" ὥσπερ ἐκβεβιασμένος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀφῃρημένος.

LI. Ὁ δὲ Ἄρατος ἀπορρέων ἤδη τῆς αὐλῆς καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἑαυτὸν ἀνακομιζόμενος ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τον Φίλιππον συνηθείας, διαβαίνοντος εἰς Ἤπει- 1051
ρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ δεομένου συστρατεύειν, ἀπείπατο καὶ κατέμεινε, δεδιὼς ἀναπλησθῆναι δόξης πονη-
2 ρᾶς ἀφ' ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἔπραττεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τάς τε ναῦς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀπολέσας αἴσχιστα καὶ ὅλως ἀποτυχὼν ταῖς πράξεσιν ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, καὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους αὖθις ἐπιχειρήσας φενακίζειν καὶ μὴ λαθὼν ἠδίκει φανερῶς καὶ τὴν

which, if Philip added the Ithomatas to Acrocorinthus, would be altogether subject and submissive to him. Aratus held his peace for a long time, but upon Philip's asking him to express his opinion, said: "There are many lofty hills in Crete, O Philip, and many towering citadels in Boeotia and Phocis; in Acarnania, too, I suppose, as well inland as on its shores, there are many places which show an amazing strength; but not one of these dost thou occupy, and yet all these peoples gladly do thy bidding. For it is robbers that cling to cliffs and crags, but for a king there is no stronger or more secure defence than trust and gratitude. These open up for thee the Cretan sea, these the Peloponnesus. Relying upon these, young as thou art, thou hast already made thyself leader here, and master there." While he was yet speaking, Philip handed the entrails to the seer, and drawing Aratus to him by the hand, said: "Come hither, then, and let us take the same road," implying that he had been constrained by him and made to give up the city.

LI. But Aratus presently began to withdraw from the court and little by little to retire from his intimacy with Philip. When the king was about to cross into Epeirus[1] and asked him to join the expedition, he refused and remained at home, fearing that he would be covered with ignominy by the king's proceedings. Philip lost his fleet most shamefully at the hands of the Romans, and after utter failure in his undertakings, came back into Peloponnesus. Here he tried once more to hoodwink the Messenians, and after being detected in this, wronged

[1] In 215 B.C. Philip had made an alliance with the Carthaginians against the Romans.

χώραν αὐτῶν ἐπόρθει, παντάπασιν ὁ Ἄρατος ἀπεστράφη καὶ διεβλήθη πρὸς αὐτόν, ἤδη καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν ἀδικημάτων αἰσθόμενος καὶ φέρων ἀνιαρῶς αὐτός, ἀποκρυπτόμενος
3 δὲ τὸν υἱόν· εἰδέναι γὰρ ὑβρισμένον περιῆν, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδέν, ἀμύνασθαι μὴ δυναμένῳ. μεγίστην γὰρ ὁ Φίλιππος δοκεῖ καὶ παραλογωτάτην μεταβαλέσθαι μεταβολήν, ἐξ ἡμέρου βασιλέως καὶ μειρακίου σώφρονος ἀνὴρ ἀσελγὴς καὶ τύραννος ἐξώλης γενόμενος. τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἄρα μεταβολὴ φύσεως, ἀλλ' ἐπίδειξις ἐν ἀδείᾳ κακίας πολὺν χρόνον διὰ φόβον ἀγνοηθείσης.

LII. Ὅτι γὰρ ἦν μεμιγμένον αἰσχύνῃ καὶ φόβῳ τὸ πρὸς τὸν Ἄρατον αὐτοῦ πάθος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς συντεθραμμένον, ἐδήλωσεν οἷς ἔπραξε περὶ αὐτόν. ἐπιθυμῶν γὰρ ἀνελεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ νομίζων οὐδ' ἂν ἐλεύθερος ἐκείνου ζῶντος εἶναι, μή τί γε τύραννος ἢ βασιλεύς, βίᾳ μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπεχείρησε, Ταυρίωνα δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν τινα καὶ φίλων ἐκέλευσεν ἀδήλῳ τρόπῳ τοῦτο πρᾶξαι, μάλιστα διὰ φαρμά-
2 κων, αὐτοῦ μὴ παρόντος. ὁ δὲ ποιησάμενος τὸν Ἄρατον συνήθη φάρμακον αὐτῷ δίδωσιν, οὐκ ὀξὺ καὶ σφοδρόν, ἀλλὰ τῶν θέρμας τε μαλακὰς τὸ πρῶτον ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ βῆχα κινούντων ἀμβλεῖαν, εἶτα οὕτως κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς φθορὰν περαινόντων. οὐ μὴν ἔλαθέ γε τὸν Ἄρατον· ἀλλ' ὡς οὐδὲν ἦν ὄφελος ἐλέγχοντι, πρᾴως καὶ σιωπῇ τὸ πάθος, ὡς δή τινα νόσον κοινὴν καὶ συνήθη
3 νοσῶν, διήντλει. πλὴν ἑνός γε τῶν συνήθων ἐν

them openly and ravaged their territory. Then Aratus was altogether estranged and filled with distrust of the king, being now aware also of the crime committed against his domestic life. At this he was sorely vexed himself, but kept it hidden from his son, who could only know that he had been shamefully abused, seeing that he was not able to avenge himself. For Philip would seem to have undergone a very great and inexplicable change,[1] in that from a gentle prince and chaste youth he became a lascivious man and a pernicious tyrant. In fact, however, this was not a change of nature, but a showing forth, in time of security, of a baseness which his fears had long led him to conceal.

LII. For that the feelings which he had cherished from the beginning towards Aratus had an admixture of shame and fear, was made plain by what he did to him at the last. For he desired to kill Aratus, and thought he could not be a free man while Aratus lived, much less a tyrant or a king. In a violent way, however, he made no attempt upon him, but ordered Taurion, one of his officers and friends, to do this in a secret way, preferably by poison, when the king was absent. So Taurion made an intimate companion of Aratus, and gave him poison, not of a sharp and violent sort, but one of those which first induce gentle heats in the body, and a dull cough, and then little by little bring on consumption. The thing was not hidden from Aratus, but since it was no use for him to convict the criminal, he calmly and silently drank his cup of suffering to the dregs, as if his sickness had been of a common and familiar type. However, when one of his intimate com-

[1] Cf. Polybius, vii. 13.

τῷ δωματίῳ παρόντος ἀναπτύσας δίαιμον, ἰδόντος ἐκείνου καὶ θαυμάσαντος, "Ταῦτα," εἶπεν, "ὦ Κεφάλων, ἐπίχειρα τῆς βασιλικῆς φιλίας."

LIII. Οὕτω δὲ αὐτοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἐν Αἰγίῳ τὸ ἑπτακαιδέκατον στρατηγοῦντος, καὶ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν φιλοτιμουμένων ἐκεῖ γενέσθαι ταφὰς καὶ μνήματα πρέποντα τῷ βίῳ τοῦ ἀνδρός, Σικυώνιοι συμφορὰν ἐποιοῦντο μὴ παρ' αὐτοῖς τεθῆναι
2 τὸ σῶμα. καὶ τοὺς μὲν Ἀχαιοὺς ἔπεισαν ἐφιέναι, νόμου δὲ ὄντος ἀρχαίου μηδένα θάπτεσθαι τειχῶν ἐντός, ἰσχυρᾶς τε τῷ νόμῳ δεισιδαιμονίας προσούσης, ἔπεμψαν εἰς Δελφοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐρησόμενοι τὴν Πυθίαν. ἡ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀναιρεῖ τὸν χρησμὸν τόνδε·

βουλεύῃ, Σικυών, ζωάγριον αἰὲν Ἀράτου,
ἀμφ' ὁσίῃ θαλίῃ τε κατοιχομένοιο ἄνακτος;
ὡς τὸ βαρυνόμενον τῷδ' ἀνέρι καὶ τὸ βαρῦνον
γαίης ἔστ' ἀσέβημα καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἠδὲ θαλάσσης.

3 κομισθείσης δὲ τῆς μαντείας οἵ τε Ἀχαιοὶ σύμπαντες ἥσθησαν, καὶ διαφερόντως οἱ Σικυώνιοι μεταβαλόντες εἰς ἑορτὴν τὸ πένθος εὐθὺς ἐκ τοῦ Αἰγίου τὸν νεκρὸν ἐστεφανωμένοι καὶ λευχειμονοῦντες ὑπὸ παιάνων καὶ χορῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀνῆγον, καὶ τόπον ἐξελόμενοι περίοπτον ὥσπερ
4 οἰκιστὴν καὶ σωτῆρα τῆς πόλεως ἐκήδευσαν. καὶ καλεῖται μέχρι νῦν Ἀράτειον, καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ

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[1] In 213 B.C.

panions who was with him in his chamber saw him spit blood, and expressed surprise, "Such, my dear Cephalo," said Aratus, "are the wages of royal friendship."

LIII. And so he died,[1] at Aegium, while general for the seventeenth time, and the Achaeans were very desirous that he should have burial there and memorials befitting his life. But the Sicyonians regarded it as a calamity that he should not be buried in their city, and persuaded the Achaeans to surrender his body to them. They had, however, an ancient law that no one should be buried inside the city walls, and the law was supported by strong feelings of superstition. So they sent to Delphi to get advice in the matter from the Pythian priestess, and she gave them the following oracular answer:—

"Would'st thou, O Sicyon, pay Aratus lasting honour for the lives he saved,
And join in pious funeral rites for thy departed lord?
Know that the place which vexes or is vexed by him
Is sacrilegious, be it in earth or sky or sea."

When the oracle was brought to them the Achaeans were all delighted, and the Sicyonians, in particular, changing their mourning into festival, at once put on garlands and white raiment and brought the body of Aratus from Aegium into their city, amid hymns of praise and choral dances; and choosing out a commanding place, they buried him there, calling him founder and saviour of the city. And the place is called to this day Arateium, and yearly sacrifices are made to Aratus there, one on the day when he

θυσίαν, τὴν μέν, ᾗ τὴν πόλιν ἀπήλλαξε τῆς τυ-
ραννίδος ἡμέρᾳ πέμπτῃ Δαισίου μηνός, ὃν Ἀθη-
ναῖοι καλοῦσιν Ἀνθεστηριῶνα, καὶ τὴν θυσίαν
ἐκείνην Σωτήρια προσαγορεύουσι, τὴν δὲ τοῦ
μηνὸς ἐν ᾗ γενέσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα διαμνημονεύουσι.
τῆς μὲν οὖν προτέρας ὁ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρος 1052
κατήρχετο θυηπόλος, τῆς δὲ δευτέρας ὁ τοῦ
Ἀράτου, στρόφιον οὐχ ὁλόλευκον, ἀλλὰ μεσο-
5 πόρφυρον ἔχων, μέλη δὲ ᾔδετο πρὸς κιθάραν ὑπὸ
τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν, καὶ συνεπόμ-
πευεν ὁ γυμνασίαρχος ἡγούμενος τῶν τε παίδων
καὶ τῶν ἐφήβων, εἶτα ἐφείπετο ἡ βουλὴ στεφα-
νηφοροῦσα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν ὁ βουλόμενος.
ὧν ἔτι δείγματα μικρὰ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις
ἐξοσιούμενοι διαφυλάττουσιν· αἱ δὲ πλεῖσται
τῶν τιμῶν ὑπὸ χρόνου καὶ πραγμάτων ἄλλων
ἐκλελοίπασιν.

LIV. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος Ἄρατος
οὕτω βιῶσαι καὶ τοιοῦτος γενέσθαι τὴν φύσιν
ἱστορεῖται· τὸν δὲ υἱὸν αὐτοῦ μιαρὸς ὢν φύσει
καὶ μετ' ὠμότητος ὑβριστὴς ὁ Φίλιππος οὐ θανα-
σίμοις, ἀλλὰ μανικοῖς ἐξέστησε τοῦ λογισμοῦ
φαρμάκοις· καὶ παρέτρεψεν εἰς δεινὰς καὶ ἀλλο-
κότους ἐπιφοράς, πράξεων ἀτόπων καὶ σὺν αἰ-
σχύνῃ παθῶν ὀλεθρίων ὀρεγόμενον, ὥστε τὸν
θάνατον αὐτῷ, καίπερ ὄντι νέῳ καὶ ἀνθοῦντι, μὴ
συμφοράν, ἀλλ' ἀπόλυσιν κακῶν καὶ σωτηρίαν
2 γενέσθαι. δίκας γε μὴν ὁ Φίλιππος οὐ μεμπτὰς
Διῒ ξενίῳ καὶ φιλίῳ τῆς ἀνοσιουργίας ταύτης
τίνων διετέλεσε. καταπολεμηθεὶς μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ
Ῥωμαίων ἐπέτρεψεν ἐκείνοις τὰ καθ' αὐτόν, ἐκ-

freed the city from its tyranny—the fifth day of the month Daesius (which the Athenians call Anthesterion), which sacrifice has the name Soteria, and one on the day of the month when, according to the records, he was born. The first of these sacrifices was performed by the priest of Zeus the Saviour; the second by the priest of Aratus, who wore a headband, not pure white but purple and white, and hymns with accompaniment of lyre were sung by the artists of Dionysus, and the gymnasiarch took part in the procession, at the head of the boys and young men of military age; then followed the councillors wearing garlands, and all other citizens who desired. Of these ceremonial rites the Sicyonians still preserve slight traces, celebrated on the same days of the year, but most of them, owing to the passage of time and the pressure of other matters, have lapsed.

LIV. Such was the life and such the nature of the elder Aratus, as history tells us; and as for his son, he was deprived of his reason by Philip, who had an abominable nature and added savage cruelty to his wanton exercise of power. He gave the young man poisons which did not kill, but crazed, and thus made him a prey to strange and dreadful impulses, under which he grasped at absurd activities, and experiences not only shameful but destructive, so that death came to him, although he was young and in the flower of his life, not as a calamity, but as release from evils, and salvation. For this unholy deed, however, Philip paid ample penalties to Zeus, the guardian of hospitality and friendship, as long as he lived. For after being subdued by the Romans and putting his fortunes in their hands, he was

πεσὼν δὲ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρχῆς καὶ τὰς ναῦς πλὴν πέντε πάσας προέμενος καὶ χίλια προσεκτίσειν ὁμολογήσας τάλαντα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ὁμηρεύσοντα παραδοὺς δι' οἶκτον ἔτυχε Μακεδονίας καὶ τῶν συντελούντων. ἀποκτείνων δὲ ἀεὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ συγγενεστάτους φρίκης ἐνέπλησε καὶ μίσους
3 ὅλην τὴν βασιλείαν πρὸς αὑτόν. ἓν δὲ μόνον ἐν τοσούτοις κακοῖς εὐτύχημα κτησάμενος, υἱὸν ἀρετῇ διαφέροντα, τοῦτον φθόνῳ καὶ ζηλοτυπίᾳ τῆς παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις τιμῆς ἀνεῖλε, Περσεῖ δὲ θατέρῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρέδωκεν, ὃν οὐ γνήσιον, ἀλλ' ὑπόβλητον εἶναί φασιν, ἐκ Γναθαινίου τινὸς ἀκεστρίας γενόμενον. τοῦτον Αἰμίλιος ἐθριάμβευσε· καὶ κατέστρεψεν ἐνταῦθα τῆς Ἀντιγονικῆς βασιλείας ἡ διαδοχή. τὸ δὲ Ἀράτου γένος ἐν τῇ Σικυῶνι καὶ τῇ Πελλήνῃ διέμεινε καθ' ἡμᾶς.

stripped of most of his dominions, surrendered all his ships but five, agreed to pay a thousand talents besides, gave up his son to serve as hostage, and only out of pity obtained Macedonia and its tributaries. But he was for ever putting to death the noblest of his subjects and his nearest kin, and thus filled his whole kingdom with horror and hatred of him. One piece of good fortune only was his, amid so many ills, and that was a son of surpassing excellence; but this son he killed, out of envy and jealousy of the honour paid him by the Romans, and left his kingdom to his other son, Perseus, who was not legitimate, as we are told, but supposititious, the child of a sempstress, Gnathaenion.[1] This king graced the triumph of Aemilius, and with him ended the royal line of the Antigonids; whereas the descendants of Aratus were living at Sicyon and Pellene in my time.

[1] See the *Aemilius Paulus*, viii. 6 f.; xxxiv., xxxvi.

ARTAXERXES

ΑΡΤΟΞΕΡΞΗΣ

I. Ὁ μὲν πρῶτος Ἀρτοξέρξης, τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις
βασιλέων πρᾳότητι καὶ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ πρωτεύσας,
Μακρόχειρ ἐπεκαλεῖτο τὴν δεξιὰν μείζονα τῆς
ἑτέρας ἔχων, Ξέρξου δὲ ἦν υἱός· ὁ δὲ δεύτερος,
περὶ οὗ τάδε γράφεται, Μνήμων ἐπικληθεὶς ἐκ
θυγατρὸς ἦν ἐκείνου. Δαρείου γὰρ καὶ Παρυσά- 1012
τιδος παῖδες ἐγένοντο τέσσαρες, πρεσβύτατος μὲν
Ἀρτοξέρξης, μετ' ἐκεῖνον δὲ Κῦρος, νεώτεροι δὲ
2 τούτων Ὀστάνης καὶ Ὀξάθρης. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κῦρος
ἀπὸ Κύρου τοῦ παλαιοῦ τοὔνομα ἔσχεν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ
ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου γενέσθαι φασί· Κῦρον γὰρ καλεῖν
Πέρσας τὸν ἥλιον. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτοξέρξης Ἀρσίκας
πρότερον ἐκαλεῖτο· καίτοι Δείνων φησὶν ὅτι
Ὀάρσης. ἀλλὰ τὸν Κτησίαν, εἰ καὶ τἆλλα μύθων
ἀπιθάνων καὶ παραφόρων ἐμβέβληκεν εἰς τὰ
βιβλία παντοδαπὴν πυλαίαν, οὐκ εἰκός ἐστιν
ἀγνοεῖν τοὔνομα τοῦ βασιλέως παρ' ᾧ διέτριβε
θεραπεύων αὐτὸν καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ μητέρα καὶ
παῖδας.

II. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Κῦρος ἔντονόν τι καὶ σφοδρὸν
εὐθὺς ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας εἶχεν, ἅτερος δὲ πρᾳό-
τερος ἐδόκει περὶ πάντα καὶ ταῖς ὁρμαῖς φύσει
μαλακώτερος εἶναι. γυναῖκα δὲ καλὴν καὶ ἀγα-
θὴν ἔλαβε μὲν τῶν γονέων κελευόντων, ἐφύλαξε

[1] Artaxerxes I. 465–425 B.C. The parallel form Artaxerxes has become fixed in English.

ARTAXERXES

I. The first Artaxerxes,[1] preëminent among the kings of Persia for gentleness and magnanimity, was surnamed Longimanus, because his right hand was longer than his left, and was the son of Xerxes; the second Artaxerxes,[2] the subject of this Life, was surnamed Memor, or *Mindful*, and was the grandson of the first by his daughter Parysatis. For Dareius[3] and Parysatis had four sons—an eldest, Artaxerxes, and next to him Cyrus, and after these Ostanes and Oxathres. Cyrus took his name from Cyrus of old,[4] who, as they say, was named from the sun; for "Cyrus" is the Persian word for *sun*. Artaxerxes was at first called Arsicas; although Deinon gives the name as Oarses. But it is unlikely that Ctesias, even if he has put into his work a perfect farrago of extravagant and incredible tales, should be ignorant of the name of the king at whose court he lived as physician to the king's wife and mother and children.

II. Now Cyrus, from his very earliest years, was high-strung and impetuous, but Artaxerxes seemed gentler in everything and naturally milder in his impulses. His wife, a beautiful and excellent woman, he married in compliance with his parents' bidding,

[2] Artaxerxes II. 404–362 B.C.
[3] Dareius II. 424–404 B.C.
[4] Cyrus the Elder, 559–529 B.C.

δὲ κωλυόντων· τὸν γὰρ ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆς ἀποκτείνας
2 ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐβουλεύετο κἀκείνην ἀνελεῖν, ὁ δὲ
Ἀρσίκας τῆς μητρὸς ἱκέτης γενόμενος καὶ πολλὰ
κατακλαύσας μόλις ἔπεισε μήτε ἀποκτεῖναι μήτε
αὐτοῦ διαστῆσαι τὴν ἄνθρωπον. ἡ δὲ μήτηρ
ὑπῆρχε τὸν Κῦρον μᾶλλον φιλοῦσα καὶ βουλομένη
βασιλεύειν ἐκεῖνον. διὸ καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς νοσοῦντος ἤδη μετάπεμπτος ἀπὸ θαλάσσης γενόμενος
παντάπασιν ἀνέβαινεν εὔελπις ὤν, ὡς κατειργασμένης ἐκείνης διάδοχον αὐτὸν ἀποδειχθῆναι τῆς
3 ἀρχῆς. καὶ γὰρ εἶχεν εὐπρεπῆ λόγον ἡ Παρύσατις, ᾧ καὶ Ξέρξης ὁ παλαιὸς ἐχρήσατο, Δημαράτου διδάξαντος, ὡς Ἀρσίκαν μὲν ἰδιώτῃ, Κῦρον
δὲ βασιλεύοντι Δαρείῳ τεκεῖν.[1] οὐ μὴν ἔπεισεν,
ἀλλ' ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἀπεδείχθη βασιλεύς, Ἀρτοξέρξης μετονομασθείς, Κῦρος δὲ Λυδίας σατράπης
καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης στρατηγός.

III. Ὀλίγῳ δ' ὕστερον ἢ τελευτῆσαι Δαρεῖον
ἐξήλασεν εἰς Πασαργάδας ὁ βασιλεύς, ὅπως τελεσθείη τὴν βασιλικὴν τελετὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις
ἱερέων. ἔστι δὲ θεᾶς πολεμικῆς ἱερόν, ἣν Ἀθηνᾶν
2 ἄν τις εἰκάσειεν. εἰς τοῦτο δεῖ τὸν τελούμενον
παρελθόντα τὴν μὲν ἰδίαν ἀποθέσθαι στολήν, ἀναλαβεῖν δὲ ἣν Κῦρος ὁ παλαιὸς ἐφόρει πρὶν ἢ βασιλεὺς γενέσθαι, καὶ σύκων παλάθης ἐμφαγόντα
τερμίνθου κατατραγεῖν καὶ ποτήριον ἐκπιεῖν ὀξυγάλακτος. εἰ δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἕτερ' ἄττα δρῶσιν,
3 ἄδηλόν ἐστι τοῖς ἄλλοις. ταῦτα δρᾶν Ἀρτοξέρξου

[1] τεκεῖν Bekker has **τέκοι**, after Coraës.

and kept her in defiance of them; for after the king had put her brother to death, he wished to kill her also. But Arsicas, throwing himself at his mother's feet and supplicating her with many tears, at last obtained her promise that his wife should neither be killed nor separated from him. But the mother had more love for Cyrus, and wished that he should succeed to the throne. Therefore, when his father was now lying sick, Cyrus was summoned home from the sea-coast, and went up in full hope that by his mother's efforts he had been designated as successor to the kingdom. For Parysatis had a specious argument (the same that Xerxes the Elder employed on the advice of Demaratus[1]), to the effect that she had borne Arsicas to Dareius when he was in private station, but Cyrus when he was a king. However, she could not prevail, but the elder son was declared king, under the new name of Artaxerxes, while Cyrus remained satrap of Lydia and commander of the forces in the maritime provinces.[2]

III. A little while after the death of Dareius, the new king made an expedition to Pasargadae, that he might receive the royal initiation at the hands of the Persian priests. Here there is a sanctuary of a warlike goddess whom one might conjecture to be Athena. Into this sanctuary the candidate for initiation must pass, and after laying aside his own proper robe, must put on that which Cyrus the Elder used to wear before he became king; then he must eat of a cake of figs, chew some turpentine-wood, and drink a cup of sour milk. Whatever else is done besides this is unknown to outsiders. As Artaxerxes

[1] See Herodotus, vii. 3.
[2] Cf. Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 1, 1 ff.

μέλλοντος ἀφίκετο Τισαφέρνης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄγων ἕνα τῶν ἱερέων, ὃς ἐν παισὶ Κύρου τῆς νομιζομένης ἀγωγῆς ἐπιστάτης γενόμενος καὶ διδάξας μαγεύειν αὐτὸν οὐδενὸς ἧττον ἐδόκει Περσῶν ἀνιᾶσθαι μὴ ἀποδειχθέντος ἐκείνου βασιλέως· διὸ καὶ πίστιν
4 ἔσχε κατηγορῶν Κύρου. κατηγόρει δὲ ὡς μέλλοντος ἐνεδρεύειν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἐκδύηται τὴν ἐσθῆτα ὁ βασιλεύς, ἐπιτίθεσθαι καὶ διαφθείρειν αὐτόν. οἱ μὲν ἐκ ταύτης τῆς διαβολῆς τὴν σύλληψιν γενέσθαι φασίν, οἱ δὲ καὶ παρελθεῖν τὸν Κῦρον εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ παραδοθῆναι
5 κρυπτόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱερέως. μέλλοντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἤδη ἀποθνήσκειν ἡ μήτηρ περισχοῦσα ταῖς ἀγκάλαις καὶ τοῖς βοστρύχοις περιελίξασα καὶ συλλαβοῦσα τὸν ἐκείνου τράχηλον πρὸς τὸν αὑτῆς, ὀδυρομένη πολλὰ καὶ ποτνιωμένη παρῃτήσατο καὶ κατέπεμψεν αὖθις ἐπὶ θάλατταν, οὐκ ἀγαπῶντα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκείνην, οὐδὲ μεμνημένον τῆς διέσεως, ἀλλὰ τῆς συλλήψεως, καὶ δι' ὀργὴν σπαργῶντα μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν.

IV. Ἔνιοι δέ φασιν οὐκ ἀρκούμενον οἷς ἐλάμβανεν εἰς τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν δεῖπνον ἀποστῆναι βασιλέως, εὐήθη λέγοντες. εἰ γὰρ ἄλλο μηδέν, ἀλλὰ ἡ μήτηρ ὑπῆρχε, χρῆσθαι καὶ λαμβάνειν ὅσα βούλοιτο τῶν αὑτῆς παρέχουσα καὶ διδοῦσα. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τῷ πλούτῳ καὶ τὸ μισθοφορικὸν πολλαχόθι διὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ ξένων αὐτῷ παρα- 1013
τρεφόμενον, ὡς Ξενοφῶν εἴρηκεν. ἀθρόους μὲν γὰρ οὐ συνήγαγεν, ἔτι τὴν παρασκευὴν ἐπικρυπτό-

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[1] *Anab.* i. 1, 6–11.

was about to perform these rites, Tissaphernes brought to him a certain priest who had conducted Cyrus through the customary discipline for boys, had taught him the wisdom of the Magi, and was thought to be more distressed than any one in Persia because his pupil had not been declared king. For this reason, too, his accusation against Cyrus won credence. And he accused him of planning to lie in wait for the king in the sanctuary until he should put off his garment, and then to fall upon him and kill him. Some say that Cyrus was arrested in consequence of this false charge, others that he actually made his way into the sanctuary and hid himself there, and was delivered into custody by the priest. But now, as he was about to be put to death, his mother clasped him in her arms, twined her tresses about him, pressed his neck against her own, and by much lamentation and entreaty prevailed upon the king to spare him, and sent him back to the sea-coast. Here he was not satisfied with the office assigned to him, nor mindful of his release, but only of his arrest; and his anger made him more eager than before to secure the kingdom.

IV. Some say that he revolted from the king because his allowance did not suffice for his daily meals, which is absurd. For had no other resource been his, still, his mother was resource enough, who gave freely from her own wealth all that he wished to take and use. And that he had wealth is proved by the mercenary troops that were maintained for him in many places by his friends and connections, as Xenophon tells us.[1] For he did not bring these together into one body, since he was still trying to conceal his preparations, but in one place and another,

μενος, ἀλλαχόθι δὲ ἄλλους ἐπὶ πολλαῖς προφάσεσι
2 ξενολογοῦντας εἶχε. βασιλέως δὲ ἥ τε μήτηρ παροῦσα τὰς ὑποψίας ἀφῄρει, καὶ Κῦρος αὐτὸς ἀεὶ θεραπευτικῶς ἔγραφε, τὰ μὲν αἰτούμενος παρ' αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ Τισαφέρνους ἀντικατηγορῶν, ὡς δὴ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον αὐτῷ ζήλου καὶ ἀγῶνος ὄντος.

3 Ἦν δέ τις καὶ μέλλησις ἐν τῇ φύσει τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐπιείκεια φαινομένη τοῖς πολλοῖς. ἐν ἀρχῇ δὲ καὶ πάνυ ζηλοῦν ἔδοξε τὴν Ἀρτοξέρξου τοῦ ὁμωνύμου πρᾳότητα, ἡδίω τε ἑαυτὸν παρέχων ἐντυγχάνεσθαι, καὶ περὶ τὸ τιμᾶν καὶ χαρίζεσθαι τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ὑπερβάλλων, κολάσεως δὲ πάσης ἀφαιρῶν τὸ ἐφυβρίζον καὶ ἡδόμενον, ἐν δὲ τῷ δέχεσθαι χάριτας οὐχ ἧττον τοῖς διδοῦσιν ἢ τοῖς λαμβάνουσιν ἐν τῷ διδόναι φαινόμενος εὔχαρις
4 καὶ φιλάνθρωπος. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν οὕτως μικρόν τι τῶν διδομένων ὃ μὴ προσεδέξατο προθύμως, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥόαν μίαν ὑπερφυῆ μεγέθει προσενέγκαντος Ὠμίσου τινὸς αὐτῷ, "Νὴ τὸν Μίθραν," εἶπεν, "οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ πόλιν ἂν ἐκ μικρᾶς ταχὺ ποιήσειε μεγάλην πιστευθείς."

V. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄλλων ἄλλα προσφερόντων καθ' ὁδὸν αὐτουργὸς ἄνθρωπος οὐδὲν ἐπὶ καιροῦ φθάσας εὑρεῖν τῷ ποταμῷ προσέδραμε καὶ ταῖν χεροῖν ὑπολαβὼν τοῦ ὕδατος προσήνεγκεν, ἡσθεὶς ὁ Ἀρτοξέρξης φιάλην ἔπεμψεν αὐτῷ χρυσῆν καὶ χιλίους δαρεικούς. Εὐκλείδᾳ δὲ τῷ Λάκωνι, πολλὰ παρρησιαζομένῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν αὐθαδῶς, ἐκέλευσεν εἰπεῖν τὸν χιλίαρχον ὅτι "Σοὶ μὲν ἔξεστιν

and on many pretexts, he kept recruiting-agents. And as for the king's suspicions, his mother, who was at court, tried to remove them, and Cyrus himself would always write in a submissive vein, sometimes asking favours from him, and sometimes making countercharges against Tissaphernes, as if his eager contention were against him.

There was, too, a certain dilatoriness in the nature of the king, which most people took for clemency. Moreover, in the beginning he appeared to be altogether emulous of the gentleness of the Artaxerxes whose name he bore, showing himself very agreeable in intercourse, and bestowing greater honours and favours than were really deserved, while from all his punishments he took away the element of insult or vindictive pleasure, and in his acceptance and bestowal of favours appeared no less gracious and kindly to the givers than to the recipients. For there was no gift so small that he did not accept it with alacrity; indeed, when a certain Omisus brought him a single pomegranate of surpassing size, he said: "By Mithra, this man would speedily make a city great instead of small were he entrusted with it."

V. Once when he was on a journey and various people were presenting him with various things, a labouring man, who could find nothing else at the moment, ran to the river, and, taking some of the water in his hands, offered it to him; at which Artaxerxes was so pleased that he sent him a goblet of gold and a thousand darics. To Eucleidas the Lacedaemonian, who would often say bold and impudent things to him, he sent this word by his officer of the guard: "It is in thy power to say

εἰπεῖν ἃ βούλει, ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν."
2 ἐν δὲ θήρᾳ τινὶ Τηριβάζου δείξαντος αὐτῷ τὸν κάνδυν ἐσχισμένον, ἠρώτησεν ὅ τι δεῖ ποιεῖν. ἐκείνου δὲ εἰπόντος, "Ἄλλον αὐτὸς ἔνδυσαι, τοῦτον δὲ ἐμοὶ δός," οὕτως ἐποίησεν, εἰπών, "Δίδωμι μέν, ὦ Τηρίβαζε, σοὶ τοῦτον, φορεῖν δὲ ἀπαγορεύω." τοῦ δὲ Τηριβάζου μὴ φροντίσαντος (ἦν γὰρ οὐ πονηρός, ὑπόκουφος δὲ καὶ παράφορος), ἀλλὰ τόν τε κάνδυν εὐθὺς ἐκεῖνον ἐνδύντος καὶ δέραια χρυσᾶ καὶ γυναικεῖα τῶν βασιλικῶν περιθεμένου, πάντες μὲν ἠγανάκτουν (οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν), ὁ μέντοι βασιλεὺς κατεγέλασε καὶ εἶπε· "Δίδωμί σοι καὶ τὰ χρυσία φορεῖν ὡς γυναικὶ καὶ τὴν
3 στολὴν ὡς μαινομένῳ." τραπέζης δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς μηδενὸς μετέχοντος ἀλλ' ἢ μητρὸς βασιλέως ἢ γαμετῆς γυναικός, καθεζομένων τῆς μὲν ὑπ' αὐτόν, τῆς δὲ μητρὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτόν, Ἀρτοξέρξης καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκάλει τράπεζαν, Ὀστάνην καὶ Ὀξάθρην, νεωτέρους ὄντας. ἐν δὲ τοῖς μάλιστα κεχαρισμένην ὄψιν παρεῖχε τοῖς Πέρσαις ἡ τῆς γυναικὸς Στατείρας ἁρμάμαξα γυμνὴ τῶν παραπετασμάτων ἀεὶ προφερομένη καὶ διδοῦσα ταῖς δημότισιν ἀσπάσασθαι αὐτὴν καὶ προσελθεῖν, ὅθεν ἠγαπᾶτο τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡ βασίλεια.

VI. Τὸν μέντοι Κῦρον οἱ νεωτερισταὶ καὶ πολυπράγμονες ὡς λαμπρὸν ἄνδρα τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ πολεμικὸν διαφερόντως καὶ φιλέταιρον ᾤοντο τὰ πράγματα ποθεῖν, καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἡγεμονίας βασιλέως δεῖσθαι φρόνημα καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ἔχον-
2 τος. οὐχ ἧττον οὖν τοῖς ἄνω πιστεύων ὁ Κῦρος ἢ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπεχείρει τῷ πολέμῳ· καὶ

what thou pleasest, but it is in mine both to say and to do." Again, when he was hunting once and Teribazus pointed out that the king's coat was rent, he asked him what was to be done. And when Teribazus replied, "Put on another for thyself, but give this one to me," the king did so, saying, "I give this to thee, Teribazus, but I forbid thee to wear it." Teribazus gave no heed to this command (being not a bad man, but rather light-headed and witless), and at once put on the king's coat, and decked himself with golden necklaces and women's ornaments of royal splendour. Everybody was indignant at this (for it was a forbidden thing); but the king merely laughed, and said: "I permit thee to wear the trinkets as a woman, and the robe as a madman." Again, no one shared the table of a Persian king except his mother or his wedded wife, the wife sitting below him, the mother above him; but Artaxerxes invited to the same table with him his brothers Ostanes and Oxathres, although they were his juniors. But what gratified the Persians most of all was the sight of his wife Stateira's carriage, which always appeared with its curtains up, and thus permitted the women of the people to approach and greet the queen. This made her beloved of the common folk.

VI. Nevertheless, restless and factious men thought that affairs demanded Cyrus, a man who had a brilliant spirit, surpassing skill in war, and great love for his friends; and that the magnitude of the empire required a king of lofty purpose and ambition. Accordingly, Cyrus relied quite as much upon the people of the interior as upon those of his own province and command, when he began the war.

Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔγραφε παρακαλῶν βοηθεῖν καὶ συνεκπέμπειν ἄνδρας, οἷς ἔφη δώσειν, ἂν μὲν πεζοὶ παρῶσιν, ἵππους, ἂν δὲ ἱππεῖς, συνωρίδας· ἐὰν δ' ἀγροὺς ἔχωσι, κώμας· ἐὰν δὲ κώμας, πόλεις· μισθοῦ δὲ τοῖς στρατευομένοις οὐκ ἀριθμόν, ἀλλὰ
3 μέτρον ἔσεσθαι. μεγαληγορῶν δὲ περὶ αὑτοῦ
πολλὰ καὶ καρδίαν ἔφη τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ φορεῖν βαρυ- 1014
τέραν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν μᾶλλον καὶ μαγεύειν βέλτιον, οἶνον δὲ πλείονα πίνειν καὶ φέρειν· ἐκεῖνον δὲ ὑπὸ δειλίας καὶ μαλακίας ἐν μὲν τοῖς κυνηγεσίοις μηδὲ ἐφ' ἵππου, ἐν δὲ τοῖς κινδύνοις μηδὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου καθῆσθαι. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν οὖν σκυτάλην πρὸς Κλέαρχον ἀπέστειλαν ὑπηρετεῖν Κύρῳ
4 πάντα κελεύοντες. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἀνέβαινεν ἐπὶ βασιλέα βαρβαρικήν τε πολλὴν ἔχων δύναμιν καὶ μισθοφόρους Ἕλληνας ὀλίγῳ τρισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων ἀποδέοντας, ἄλλας ἐπ' ἄλλαις ποιούμενος προφάσεις τῆς στρατείας. οὐ μὴν ἔλαθέ γε εἰς πολὺν χρόνον, ἀλλ' ἧκε βασιλεῖ Τισαφέρνης αὐτάγγελος· καὶ πολὺς θόρυβος εἶχε τὰ βασίλεια, τῆς τε Παρυσάτιδος τὴν πλείστην αἰτίαν τοῦ πολέμου φερομένης, καὶ τῶν φίλων αὐτῆς ἐν
5 ὑποψίαις ὄντων καὶ διαβολαῖς. μάλιστα δὲ ἠνία τὴν Παρύσατιν ἡ Στάτειρα τῷ πολέμῳ περιπαθοῦσα καὶ βοῶσα, "Ποῦ νῦν αἱ πίστεις ἐκεῖναι; ποῦ δὲ αἱ δεήσεις, αἷς ἐξελομένη τὸν ἐπιβουλεύσαντα τῷ ἀδελφῷ πολέμου καὶ κακῶν ἐμπέπληκας ἡμᾶς;" ἐκ δὴ τούτων μισοῦσα τὴν Στάτειραν ἡ Παρύσατις, καὶ φύσει βαρύθυμος οὖσα καὶ βάρ-

[1] Cf. Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 1, 9; 2, 21; 4, 3.

He also wrote to the Lacedaemonians, inviting them to aid him and send him men, and promising that he would give to those who came, if they were footmen, horses; if they were horsemen, chariots and pairs; if they had farms, he would give them villages; if they had villages, cities; and the pay of the soldiers should not be counted, but measured out. Moreover, along with much high-sounding talk about himself, he said he carried a sturdier heart than his brother, was more of a philosopher, better versed in the wisdom of the Magi, and could drink and carry more wine than he. His brother, he said, was too effeminate and cowardly either to sit his horse in a hunt, or his throne in a time of peril. The Lacedaemonians, accordingly, sent a dispatch-roll to Clearchus ordering him to give Cyrus every assistance.[1] So Cyrus marched up against the king with a large force of Barbarians and nearly thirteen thousand Greek mercenaries,[2] alleging one pretext after another for his expedition. But the real object of it was not long concealed, for Tissaphernes went in person to the king and informed him of it. Then there was a great commotion at the court, Parysatis being most blamed for the war, and her friends undergoing suspicion and accusation. And above all was she vexed by Stateira, who was greatly distressed at the war, and kept crying: "Where now are those pledges of thine? And where are the entreaties by which thou didst rescue the man who had plotted against the life of his brother, only to involve us in war and calamity?" Therefore Parysatis hated Stateira, and being naturally of a harsh

[2] Cf. Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 7, 10, where the force of Barbarians is said to have numbered one hundred thousand.

βαρος ἐν ὀργαῖς καὶ μνησικακίαις, ἐπεβούλευεν
6 αὐτὴν ἀνελεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Δείνων μὲν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ συντελεσθῆναι τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν εἴρηκε, Κτησίας δὲ ὕστερον, ὃν οὔτε ἀγνοεῖν τὸν χρόνον εἰκός ἐστι παρόντα ταῖς πράξεσιν, οὔτε ἑκὼν αἰτίαν εἶχεν ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου μεταστῆσαι τὸ ἔργον, ὡς ἐπράχθη διηγούμενος, οἷα πάσχει πολλάκις ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ μυθῶδες καὶ δραματικὸν ἐκτρεπόμενος τῆς ἀληθείας, τοῦτο μὲν ἣν ἐκεῖνος ἀπέδωκε χώραν ἕξει.

VII. Κύρῳ δὲ προσιόντι φῆμαι καὶ λόγοι προσέπιπτον, ὡς οὐ μάχεσθαι βασιλέως εὐθὺς ἐγνωκότος οὐδὲ συνδραμεῖν εἰς χεῖρας αὐτῷ σπεύδοντος, ἀλλ' ἐν Πέρσαις ὑπομένειν ἄχρι ἂν αἱ δυνάμεις ἐκεῖ πανταχόθεν συνέλθωσι. καὶ γὰρ τάφρον εὖρος ὀργυιῶν δέκα καὶ βάθος ἴσων ἐπὶ σταδίους διὰ τοῦ πεδίου τετρακοσίους ἐνέβαλε· καὶ ταύτης τε περιεῖδε τὸν Κῦρον ἐντὸς παρελθόντα καὶ Βα-
2 βυλῶνος αὐτῆς οὐ μακρὰν γενόμενον. Τηριβάζου δέ, ὥς φασι, πρώτου τολμήσαντος εἰπεῖν ὡς οὐ δεῖ φυγομαχεῖν οὐδὲ Μηδίας ἐκστάντα καὶ Βαβυλῶνος ἅμα[1] καὶ Σούσων ἐνδύεσθαι τῇ Περσίδι, πολλαπλασίαν μὲν ἔχοντα δύναμιν τῶν πολεμίων, μυρίους δὲ σατράπας καὶ στρατηγοὺς Κύρου καὶ φρονεῖν καὶ μάχεσθαι βελτίονας, ὥρμησε διαγωνίσασθαι τὴν ταχίστην.

3 Καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐξαίφνης καταφανεὶς ἐνενήκοντα μυριάσι στρατοῦ διακεκοσμημέναις λαμ-

[1] ἅμα Bekker and Ziegler, after Coraïs: ἀλλά.

temper and savage in her wrath and resentment, she plotted to kill her. Deinon says that her plot was carried out during the war. Ctesias, however, says that it was accomplished afterwards, and neither is it likely that he was ignorant of the time since he was at the scene of action, nor had he any occasion, in his narrative of the deed, to change the time of it on purpose, however often his story turns aside from the truth into fable and romance. I shall therefore give the event the place which he has assigned to it.[1]

VII. As Cyrus proceeded on his march, rumours and reports kept coming to his ears that the king had decided not to give battle at once, and was not desirous of coming to close quarters with him, but rather of waiting in Persia until his forces should assemble there from all parts. For he had run a trench, ten fathoms in width and as many in depth, four hundred furlongs through the plain; and yet he allowed Cyrus to cross this and to come within a short distance of Babylon itself.[2] And it was Teribazus, as we are told, who first plucked up courage to tell the king that he ought not to shun a battle, nor to retire from Media and Babylon, as well as Susa, and hide himself in Persia, when he had a force many times as numerous as that of the enemy, and countless satraps and generals who surpassed Cyrus in wisdom and military skill. The king therefore determined to fight the issue out as soon as possible.

So, to begin with, by his sudden appearance with an army of nine hundred thousand men in brilliant

[1] See chap. xix.
[2] Cf. Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 7, 14–17.

πρῶς, τοὺς πολεμίους ἀσυντάκτους καὶ ἀνόπλους
διὰ τὸ θαρρεῖν καὶ καταφρονεῖν ὁδοιποροῦντας
ἐξέπληξε καὶ συνετάραξεν, ὥστε σὺν θορύβῳ καὶ
βοῇ πολλῇ μόλις εἰς τάξιν καθίστασθαι τὸν
Κῦρον· ἔπειτα σιγῇ καὶ σχέδην ἐπάγων θαῦμα
τοῖς Ἕλλησι τῆς εὐταξίας παρεῖχε, κραυγὰς ἀτά-
κτους καὶ σκιρτήματα καὶ πολὺν τάραχον αὐτῶν
καὶ διασπασμὸν ἐν πλήθει τοσούτῳ προσδεχομέ-
4 νοις. εὖ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀντέταξε τῶν
δρεπανηφόρων τὰ ῥωμαλεώτατα πρὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
φάλαγγος, ὡς πρὶν ἐν χερσὶ γενέσθαι διακόψοντα
τὰς τάξεις βίᾳ τῆς εἰσελάσεως.

VIII. Τὴν δὲ μάχην ἐκείνην πολλῶν μὲν ἀπηγ-
γελκότων, Ξενοφῶντος δὲ μονονουχὶ δεικνύοντος
ὄψει, καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὡς οὐ γεγενημένοις,
ἀλλὰ γινομένοις, ἐφιστάντος ἀεὶ τὸν ἀκροατὴν
ἐμπαθῆ καὶ συγκινδυνεύοντα διὰ τὴν ἐνάργειαν,
οὐκ ἔστι νοῦν ἔχοντος ἐπεξηγεῖσθαι, πλὴν ὅσα
2 τῶν ἀξίων λόγου παρῆλθεν εἰπεῖν ἐκεῖνον. ὁ μὲν
οὖν τόπος, ἐν ᾧ παρετάξαντο, Κούναξα καλεῖται 1015
καὶ Βαβυλῶνος ἀπέχει σταδίους πεντακοσίους.
Κῦρον δὲ πρὸ τῆς μάχης Κλεάρχου παρακα-
λοῦντος ἐξόπισθεν τῶν μαχομένων εἶναι καὶ μὴ
κινδυνεύειν αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν φασι, "Τί λέγεις, ὦ
Κλέαρχε; σὺ κελεύεις με τὸν βασιλείας ὀρεγό-
3 μενον ἀνάξιον εἶναι βασιλείας;" ἁμαρτόντος δὲ
Κύρου μέγα τῷ δῦναι προπετῶς εἰς μέσα τὰ
δεινὰ καὶ μὴ φυλάξασθαι τὸν κίνδυνον, οὐχ ἧττον
ἥμαρτεν, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, Κλέαρχος ἀντιτάξαι

[1] *Anab.* i. 8.

array, he so terrified and confounded the enemy, who were marching along in loose order and without arms because of their boldness and contempt for the king, that Cyrus could with difficulty bring them into battle array amid much tumult and shouting; and again, by leading his forces up slowly and in silence, he filled the Greeks with amazement at his good discipline, since they had expected in so vast a host random shouting, and leaping, with great confusion and dissipation of their lines. Besides this, he did well to draw up in front of his own line, and over against the Greeks, the mightiest of his scythe-bearing chariots, in order that by the force of their charge they might cut to pieces the ranks of the Greeks before they had come to close quarters.

VIII. Now, since many writers have reported to us this battle, and since Xenophon[1] brings it all but before our eyes, and by the vigour of his description makes his reader always a participant in the emotions and perils of the struggle, as though it belonged, not to the past, but to the present, it would be folly to describe it again, except so far as he has passed over things worthy of mention. The place, then, where the armies were drawn up, is called Cunaxa, and it is five hundred furlongs distant from Babylon. And we are told that Cyrus, before the battle, when Clearchus besought him to remain behind the combatants and not risk his life, replied: "What sayest thou, Clearchus? Dost thou bid me, who am reaching out for a kingdom, to be unworthy of a kingdom?" It was a great mistake for Cyrus to plunge headlong into the midst of the fray, instead of trying to avoid its dangers; but it was no less a mistake, nay, even a greater one, for Clearchus to refuse to array his

κατὰ τὸν βασιλέα μὴ θελήσας τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀλλὰ προσμίξας τῷ ποταμῷ τὸ δεξιόν, ὡς μὴ κυκλωθείη. τὴν γὰρ ἀσφάλειαν ἐξ ἅπαντος διώκοντα καὶ πλεῖστον λόγον ἔχοντα τοῦ μηδὲν
4 παθεῖν οἴκοι μένειν ἦν κράτιστον. ὁ δὲ μυρίους σταδίους ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐν ὅπλοις ἀναβεβηκὼς μηδενὸς ἀναγκάζοντος, ἀλλ' ὅπως Κῦρον εἰς τὸν θρόνον καθίσῃ τὸν βασίλειον, εἶτα περισκοπῶν χώραν καὶ τάξιν, οὐκ ἀφ' ἧς σώσειε τὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ μισθοδότην, ἀλλ' ἐν τίνι θέμενος ἑαυτὸν ἀσφαλῶς μαχεῖται καθ' ἡσυχίαν, ὅμοιος ἦν ὑπὸ δέους τῶν παρόντων ἐκβεβληκότι τοὺς περὶ τῶν ὅλων λογισμοὺς καὶ προϊεμένῳ τὴν τῆς στρατείας
5 ὑπόθεσιν. ὅτι γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἂν ὑπέμεινε τῶν τεταγμένων περὶ βασιλέα τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐμπεσόντας, ὠσθέντων δ' ἐκείνων καὶ βασιλέως φυγόντος ἢ πεσόντος ὑπῆρχε Κύρῳ νικῶντι σώζεσθαι καὶ βασιλεύειν, ἐκ τῶν πεπραγμένων δῆλόν ἐστι. διὸ τὴν Κλεάρχου μᾶλλον εὐλάβειαν ἢ τὸ τοῦ Κύρου θράσος αἰτιατέον ὡς τὰ πράγματα καὶ Κῦρον
6 ἀπολέσασαν. εἰ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐσκόπει βασιλεὺς ὅπου τάξας τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀβλαβεστάτοις χρήσεται πολεμίοις, οὐκ ἂν ἑτέραν ἐξεῦρεν ἢ τὴν ἀπωτάτω χώραν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν περὶ ἑαυτόν, ἀφ' ἧς οὔτε νικηθεὶς αὐτὸς ᾔσθετο καὶ Κῦρος ἔφθη κατακοπεὶς ἢ χρησάμενός τι τῇ Κλεάρχου νίκῃ.
7 καίτοι Κῦρος τὸ συμφέρον οὐκ ἠγνόησεν, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ Κλέαρχον ἐκέλευε τάττεσθαι κατὰ μέσον. ὁ δ' αὐτῷ μέλειν εἰπὼν ὅπως ἕξει κάλλιστα, τὸ πᾶν διέφθειρεν.

Greeks over against the king, and to keep his right wing close to the river, that he might not be surrounded. For if he sought safety above everything else and made it his chief object to avoid losses, it had been best for him to stay at home. But he had marched ten thousand furlongs up from the sea-coast under arms, with no compulsion upon him, but in order that he might place Cyrus upon the royal throne; and then, in looking about for a place and position which would enable him, not to save his leader and employer, but to fight safely and as he pleased, he was like one who, through fear of instant peril, had cast aside the plans made for general success and abandoned the object of the expedition. For had the Greeks charged upon the forces arrayed about the king, not a man of them would have stood his ground; and had these been routed and the king either slain or put to flight, Cyrus would have won by his victory, not only safety, but a kingdom. This is clear from the course of the action. Therefore the caution of Clearchus rather than the temerity of Cyrus must be held responsible for the ruin of Cyrus and his cause. For if the king himself had sought out a place to array the Greeks in which their attack would be least injurious to him, he could have found no other than that which was most remote from himself and his immediate following, since he himself did not know that his forces had been defeated there, and Cyrus could take no advantage at all of the victory of Clearchus, because he was cut down too soon. And yet Cyrus well knew what was for the best, and ordered Clearchus to take his position accordingly in the centre. But Clearchus, after telling Cyrus he would see to it that the best was done, ruined everything.

IX. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἕλληνες ὅσον ἐβούλοντο τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνίκων καὶ διώκοντες ἐπὶ πλεῖστον προῆλθον· Κύρῳ δὲ γενναῖον ἵππον, ἄστομον δὲ καὶ ὑβριστὴν ἐλαύνοντι, Πασακᾶν καλούμενον, ὡς Κτησίας φησίν, ἀντεξήλασεν ὁ Καδουσίων ἄρχων
2 Ἀρταγέρσης μέγα βοῶν, "Ὦ τὸ κάλλιστον ἐν Πέρσαις ὄνομα Κύρου καταισχύνων, ἀδικώτατε ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἀφρονέστατε, κακοὺς μὲν Ἕλληνας ἔρχῃ κακὴν ὁδὸν ἄγων ἐπὶ τὰ Περσῶν ἀγαθά, δεσπότην δὲ σεαυτοῦ καὶ ἀδελφὸν ἐλπίζων ἀναιρήσειν, ὃς σοῦ μυριάκις μυρίους δούλους ἔχει κρείσσονας. αὐτίκα δὲ πειράσῃ· πρότερον γὰρ ἀπολεῖς ἐνταῦθα τὴν σεαυτοῦ κεφαλὴν ἢ θεά-
3 σασθαι τὸ βασιλέως πρόσωπον." ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐξηκόντισεν ἐπ' αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ θώραξ στερεῶς ἀντέσχε, καὶ οὐκ ἐτρώθη μὲν ὁ Κῦρος, ἐκραδάνθη δὲ τῆς πληγῆς ἰσχυρᾶς προσπεσούσης. ἀποστρέψαντος δὲ τὸν ἵππον τοῦ Ἀρταγέρσου βαλὼν ὁ Κῦρος ἔτυχε, καὶ διήλασε παρὰ τὴν κλεῖδα διὰ τοῦ τραχήλου τὴν αἰχμήν.

4 Τὸν μὲν οὖν Ἀρταγέρσην ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κύρου σχεδὸν ἅπαντες ὁμολογοῦσι· περὶ δὲ τῆς αὐτοῦ Κύρου τελευτῆς ἐπεὶ Ξενοφῶν ἁπλῶς καὶ συντόμως, ἅτε δὴ μὴ παρὼν αὐτός, εἶπεν, οὐδὲν ἴσως κωλύει τὰ Δείνωνος ἰδίᾳ καὶ πάλιν τὰ Κτησίου διελθεῖν.

X. Φησὶν οὖν ὁ μὲν Δείνων ὅτι τοῦ Ἀρταγέρσου πεσόντος εἰσελάσας βιαίως ὁ Κῦρος εἰς τοὺς προτεταγμένους τοῦ βασιλέως κατέτρωσεν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἵππον, ὁ δὲ ἀπερρύη· Τηριβάζου δὲ

IX. For the Greeks were victorious to their hearts' content over the Barbarians, and went forward a very great distance in pursuit of them; but Cyrus, riding a horse that was high-bred, but fierce and hard to guide (his name was Pasacas, as Ctesias tells us), was met in full course by Artagerses, commander of the Cadusians, who cried with a loud voice: "O thou who disgracest the name of Cyrus, that noblest name among the Persians, thou most unjust and senseless of men, thou art come with evil Greeks on an evil journey after the good things of the Persians, and thou hopest to slay thine own brother and thy master, who hath a million servants that are better men than thou. And thou shalt at once have proof of this; for thou shalt lose thine own head here before thou hast seen the face of the king." With these words he hurled his spear at Cyrus. But the breastplate of Cyrus stoutly resisted, and its wearer was not wounded, though he reeled under the shock of the mighty blow. Then, as Artagerses turned his horse away, Cyrus hurled his spear and hit him, and drove its head through his neck past the collar-bone.

Thus Artagerses died at the hands of Cyrus, as nearly all writers are agreed in saying; but as regards the death of Cyrus himself, since Xenophon makes simple and brief mention of it,[1] because he was not present himself when it happened, there is no objection perhaps to my recounting, first what Deinon says about it, and then what Ctesias says.

X. Accordingly, Deinon says that after Artagerses had fallen, Cyrus charged furiously into those drawn up in front of the king, and wounded the king's horse, and that the king fell to the ground; but

[1] *Anab.* I. viii. 26 f.

ἀναβαλόντος αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἄλλον ἵππον ταχὺ καὶ
εἰπόντος, "Ὦ βασιλεῦ, μέμνησο τῆς ἡμέρας 1016
ταύτης· οὐ γὰρ ἀξία λήθης ἐστί," πάλιν ὁ Κῦρος
ἐνσείσας τῷ ἵππῳ κατέβαλε τὸν Ἀρτοξέρξην.
2 πρὸς δὲ τὴν τρίτην ἐπέλασιν δυσανασχετήσας ὁ
βασιλεύς, καὶ εἰπὼν πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ὡς
βέλτιόν ἐστι μὴ ζῆν, ἀντεξήλαυνε τῷ Κύρῳ
προπετῶς καὶ ἀπερισκέπτως εἰς ἐναντία βέλη
φερομένῳ. καὶ βάλλει μὲν αὐτὸς ἀκοντίῳ, βάλ-
3 λουσι δὲ οἱ περὶ αὐτόν. πίπτει δὲ ὁ Κῦρος, ὡς
μὲν ἔνιοι λέγουσι, πληγεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως,
ὡς δὲ ἕτεροί τινες, Καρὸς ἀνθρώπου πατάξαντος,
ᾧ γέρας ἔδωκε τῆς πράξεως ταύτης ὁ βασιλεὺς
ἀλεκτρυόνα χρυσοῦν ἐπὶ δόρατος ἀεὶ πρὸ τῆς
τάξεως ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις κομίζειν· καὶ γὰρ
αὐτοὺς τοὺς Κᾶρας ἀλεκτρυόνας οἱ Πέρσαι διὰ
τοὺς λόφους, οἷς κοσμοῦσι τὰ κράνη, προσ-
ηγόρευον.

XI. Ἡ δὲ Κτησίου διήγησις, ὡς ἐπιτεμόντι
πολλὰ συντόμως ἀπαγγεῖλαι, τοιαύτη τίς ἐστι.
Κῦρος ἀποκτείνας Ἀρταγέρσην ἤλαυνεν εἰς αὐτὸν
βασιλέα τὸν ἵππον, καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς ἐκεῖνον, ἀμφό-
τεροι σιωπῇ. φθάνει δὲ βαλὼν Ἀριαῖος ὁ Κύρου
φίλος βασιλέα, καὶ οὐκ ἔτρωσε. βασιλεὺς δὲ
ἀφεὶς τὸ δόρυ Κύρου μὲν οὐκ ἔτυχε, Σατιφέρνην
δέ, πιστὸν ἄνδρα Κύρῳ καὶ γενναῖον, ἔβαλε καὶ
2 ἀπέκτεινε. Κῦρος δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξακοντίσας διὰ
τοῦ θώρακος ἔτρωσε τὸ στῆθος, ὅσον ἐνδῦναι δύο
δακτύλους τὸ ἀκόντιον, πεσεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς
πληγῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου. φυγῆς δὲ καὶ ταραχῆς
τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν γενομένης, ὁ μὲν ἀναστὰς μετ'

Teribazus quickly mounted him upon another horse, saying, "O king, remember this day, for it deserves not to be forgotten"; whereupon Cyrus again plunged in and dismounted Artaxerxes. But at his third assault, the king, being enraged, and saying to those who were with him that death was better, rode out against Cyrus, who was rashly and impetuously rushing upon the missiles of his opponents. The king himself hit him with a spear, and he was hit by the attendants of the king. Thus Cyrus fell, as some say, by a wound at the hands of the king, but as sundry others have it, from the blow of a Carian, who was rewarded by the king for this exploit with the privilege of always carrying a golden cock upon his spear in front of the line during an expedition; for the Persians call the Carians themselves cocks, because of the crests with which they adorn their helmets.

XI. But the narrative of Ctesias, to give it in a much-abbreviated form, is something as follows After he had slain Artagerses, Cyrus rode against the king himself, and the king against him, both without a word. But Ariaeus, the friend of Cyrus, was beforehand in hurling his spear at the king, though he did not wound him. And the king, casting his spear at Cyrus, did not hit him, but struck and killed Satiphernes, a trusted friend of Cyrus and a man of noble birth. But Cyrus threw his spear at the king and wounded him in the breast through the cuirass, so that the weapon sank in two fingers deep, and the king fell from his horse with the blow. Amid the ensuing confusion and flight of his immediate followers, the king rose to his feet, and with a few companions

ὀλίγων, ἐν οἷς καὶ Κτησίας ἦν, λόφον τινὰ πλη-
σίον καταλαβὼν ἡσύχαζε· Κῦρον δὲ τοῖς πολε-
μίοις ἐνειλούμενον ὁ ἵππος ἐξέφερεν ὑπὸ θυμοῦ
μακράν, ἤδη σκότους ὄντος ἀγνοούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν
3 πολεμίων καὶ ζητούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων. ἐπαι-
ρόμενος δὲ τῇ νίκῃ καὶ μεστὸς ὢν ὁρμῆς καὶ
θράσους διεξήλαυνε βοῶν, "Ἐξίστασθε, πενι-
χροί." τοῦτο δὲ Περσιστὶ πολλάκις αὐτοῦ
βοῶντος, οἱ μὲν ἐξίσταντο προσκυνοῦντες, ἀπο-
πίπτει δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἡ τιάρα τοῦ Κύρου. καὶ
παρατρέχων νεανίας Πέρσης ὄνομα Μιθριδάτης
ἀκοντίῳ βάλλει τὸν κρόταφον αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸν
4 ὀφθαλμόν, ἀγνοῶν ὅστις εἴη. πολὺ δὲ αἷμα τοῦ
τραύματος ἐκβαλόντος ἰλιγγιάσας καὶ καρωθεὶς
ὁ Κῦρος ἔπεσε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἵππος ὑπεκφυγὼν ἐπλά-
ζετο, τὸν δ' ἐφίππειον πῖλον ἀπορρυέντα λαμβάνει
τοῦ τὸν Κῦρον βαλόντος ἀκόλουθος αἵματος περί-
πλεω. τὸν δὲ Κῦρον ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς ἀναφέροντα
χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις εὐνοῦχοί τινες ὀλίγοι παρόντες
ἐπεχείρουν ἐπ' ἄλλον ἵππον ἀναθέσθαι καὶ σώζειν.
5 ἀδυνάτως δ' ἔχοντα καὶ δι' αὑτοῦ προθυμούμενον
βαδίζειν ὑπολαβόντες ἦγον, τῷ μὲν σώματι καρη-
βαροῦντα καὶ σφαλλόμενον, οἰόμενον δὲ νικᾶν
ἀκούοντα τῶν φευγόντων ἀνακαλουμένων Κῦρον
βασιλέα καὶ φείδεσθαι δεομένων. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ
Καύνιοί τινες ἄνθρωποι κακόβιοι καὶ ἄποροι καὶ
ταπεινῶν ὑπουργημάτων ἕνεκα τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως
στρατιᾷ παρακολουθοῦντες ἔτυχον συναναμιχθέν-
6 τες ὡς φίλοις τοῖς περὶ τὸν Κῦρον. ὡς δὲ μόλις

among whom also was Ctesias, took possession of a certain hill near by and remained there quietly; but Cyrus, enveloped by his enemies, was borne on a long distance by his spirited horse, and since it was now dark, his enemies did not recognize him and his friends could not find him. But lifted up by his victory, and full of impetuosity and confidence, he rode on through his foes, crying out, "Clear the way, ye beggars!" Thus he cried out many times, in Persian, and they cleared the way, and made him their obeisance. But the turban of Cyrus fell from his head, and a young Persian, Mithridates by name, running to his side, smote him with his spear in the temple, near the eye, not knowing who he was. Much blood gushed from the wound, and Cyrus, stunned and giddy, fell to the ground. His horse escaped and wandered about the field, but the horse's saddle-cloth, which had slipped off, was captured by the attendant of the man who had struck Cyrus, and it was soaked with blood. Then, as Cyrus was slowly and with difficulty recovering from the blow, a few eunuchs who were at hand tried to put him upon another horse and bring him to a place of safety. But since he was unable to ride and desired to go on his own feet, they supported him and led him along. His head was heavy and he reeled to and fro, but he thought he was victorious because he heard the fugitives saluting Cyrus as king and begging him to spare them. Meanwhile some Caunians—low and poverty-stricken men who followed the king's army to do menial service—chanced to join the party about Cyrus, supposing them to be friends. But when at last they perceived that the tunics

συνεῖδον τὰ ἐπιθωρακίδια φοινικᾶ, λευκοῖς χρω-
μένων τῶν βασιλικῶν ἁπάντων, ἔγνωσαν πολε-
μίους ὄντας. εἷς οὖν ἐκείνων ἐτόλμησεν ἀγνοῶν
ἐξόπισθεν βαλεῖν τὸν Κῦρον ἀκοντίῳ. τῆς δὲ
περὶ τὴν ἰγνύαν φλεβὸς ἀναρραγείσης πεσὼν ὁ
Κῦρος ἅμα παίει πρός τινι λίθῳ τὸν τετρωμένον
κρόταφον καὶ ἀποθνήσκει. τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ Κτη-
σίου λόγος, ᾧ καθάπερ ἀμβλεῖ ξιφιδίῳ μόλις
ἀναιρῶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀνῄρηκεν.

XII. Ἤδη δὲ αὐτοῦ τεθνηκότος Ἀρτασύρας ὁ
βασιλέως ὀφθαλμὸς ἔτυχεν ἵππῳ παρεξελαύνων.
γνωρίσας οὖν τοὺς εὐνούχους ὀλοφυρομένους
ἠρώτησε τὸν πιστότατον αὐτῶν, "Τίνα τοῦ- 1017
τον, ὦ Παρίσκα, κλαίεις παρακαθήμενος;" ὁ δὲ
εἶπεν· "Οὐχ ὁρᾷς, ὦ Ἀρτασύρα, Κῦρον τεθνη-
κότα;" θαυμάσας οὖν ὁ Ἀρτασύρας τῷ μὲν
εὐνούχῳ θαρρεῖν παρεκελεύσατο καὶ φυλάττειν
2 τὸν νεκρόν, αὐτὸς δὲ συντείνας πρὸς τὸν Ἀρτο-
ξέρξην, ἀπεγνωκότα μὲν ἤδη τὰ πράγματα, κακῶς
δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα διακείμενον ὑπό τε δίψης καὶ
τοῦ τραύματος, χαίρων φράζει ὡς αὐτὸς ἴδοι
τεθνηκότα Κῦρον. ὁ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν εὐθὺς ὥρ-
μησεν αὐτὸς ἰέναι, καὶ τὸν Ἀρτασύραν ἄγειν
ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον· ἐπεὶ δὲ πολὺς ἦν λόγος
τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ φόβος ὡς διωκόντων καὶ πάντα
νικώντων καὶ κρατούντων, ἔδοξε πλείονας πέμψαι
τοὺς κατοψομένους· καὶ τριάκοντα λαμπάδας
3 ἔχοντες ἐπέμφθησαν. αὐτῷ δὲ μικρὸν ἀπολεί-
ποντι τοῦ τεθνάναι διὰ τὸ διψῆν Σατιβαρζάνης

over their breastplates were of a purple colour, whereas all the king's people wore white ones, they knew that they were enemies. Accordingly, one of them, not knowing who Cyrus was, ventured to smite him from behind with his spear. The vein in the ham of Cyrus was ruptured and he fell, and at the same time struck his wounded temple against a stone, and so died. Such is the story of Ctesias, in which, as with a blunt sword, he is long in killing Cyrus, but kills him at last.

XII. When Cyrus was now dead, Artasyras, the king's Eye,[1] chanced to pass by on horseback, and recognizing the eunuchs as they lamented, he asked the trustiest of them, "Who is this man, Pariscas, by whom thou sittest mourning?" And Pariscas answered: "O Artasyras, dost thou not see Cyrus dead?" Astonished at this, then, Artasyras bade the eunuch be of good courage and guard the dead body, but he himself went in hot haste to Artaxerxes (who had already given up his cause for lost, and besides was physically in a wretched plight from thirst and from his wound), and joyfully told him that with his own eyes he had seen Cyrus dead. At first the king promptly set out to go in person to the place, and ordered Artasyras to conduct him thither; but since there was much talk about the Greeks, and it was feared that they were pursuing and conquering and making themselves masters everywhere, he decided to send a larger company to see where Cyrus lay. So thirty men were sent, with torches. Meanwhile, since the king was almost dead with thirst, Satibarzanes the eunuch

[1] A confidential officer of high rank, a Superintendent of the Realm.

ὁ εὐνοῦχος περιθέων ἐζήτει ποτόν· οὐ γὰρ εἶχε τὸ χωρίον ὕδωρ, οὐδὲ ἦν ἐγγὺς τὸ στρατόπεδον. μόλις οὖν ἐπιτυγχάνει τῶν Καυνίων ἐκείνων τῶν κακοβίων ἑνὸς ἐν ἀσκίῳ φαύλῳ διεφθαρμένον ὕδωρ καὶ πονηρὸν ἔχοντος, ὅσον ὀκτὼ κοτύλας· καὶ λαβὼν τοῦτο καὶ κομίσας τῷ βασιλεῖ δίδωσιν. ἐκπιόντα δὲ ἅπαν ἠρώτησεν εἰ μὴ πάνυ δυσχε-
4 ραίνει τὸ ποτόν. ὁ δὲ ὤμοσε τοὺς θεοὺς μήτε οἶνον ἡδέως οὕτως πώποτε πεπωκέναι μήτε ὕδωρ τὸ κουφότατον καὶ καθαρώτατον, "Ὥστε," ἔφη, "τὸν δόντα σοι τοῦτο ἄνθρωπον, ἂν ἐγὼ μὴ δυνηθῶ ζητήσας ἀμείψασθαι, τοὺς θεοὺς εὔχομαι ποιῆσαι μακάριον καὶ πλούσιον."

XIII. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ προσήλαυνον οἱ τριάκοντα λαμπροὶ καὶ περιχαρεῖς, ἀναγγέλλοντες αὐτῷ τὴν ἀνέλπιστον εὐτυχίαν. ἤδη δὲ καὶ πλήθει τῶν συντρεχόντων πάλιν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ συνισταμένων ἐθάρρει, καὶ κατέβαινεν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου φωτὶ
2 πολλῷ περιλαμπόμενος. ὡς δὲ ἐπέστη τῷ νεκρῷ, καὶ κατά δή τινα νόμον Περσῶν ἡ δεξιὰ χεὶρ ἀπεκόπη καὶ ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ σώματος, ἐκέλευσε τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῷ κομισθῆναι· καὶ τῆς κόμης δραξάμενος οὔσης βαθείας καὶ λασίας ἐπεδείκνυε τοῖς ἀμφιδοξοῦσιν ἔτι καὶ φεύγουσιν. οἱ δὲ ἐθαύμαζον καὶ προσεκύνουν, ὥστε ταχὺ μυριάδας ἑπτὰ περὶ αὐτὸν γενέσθαι καὶ συνεισελάσαι πάλιν
3 εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐξεληλάκει δέ, ὡς ὁ Κτησίας φησίν, ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην τεσσαράκοντα μυριάσιν. οἱ δὲ περὶ Δείνωνα καὶ Ξενοφῶντα πολὺ πλείονας γενέσθαι λέγουσι τὰς μεμαχημένας. ἀριθμὸν δὲ νεκρῶν ὁ Κτησίας ἐνακισχιλίους ἀνενεχθῆναί

ran about in quest of a drink for him; for the place had no water, and the camp was far away. At last, then, he came upon one of those low Caunians, who had vile and polluted water in a wretched skin, about two quarts in all: this he took, brought it to the king, and gave it to him. After the king had drunk it all off, the eunuch asked him if he was not altogether disgusted with the drink. But the king swore by the gods that he had never drunk wine, or the lightest and purest water, with so much pleasure. "Therefore," said the king, "if I should be unable to find and reward the man who gave thee this drink, I pray the gods to make him rich and happy."

XIII. And now the thirty messengers came riding up with joy and exultation in their faces, announcing to the king his unexpected good fortune. Presently, too, he was encouraged by the number of men who flocked back to him and formed in battle array, and so he came down from the hill under the light of many torches. And after he had halted at the dead body of Cyrus, and its right hand and head had been cut off (in accordance with a law of the Persians), he ordered the head to be brought to him; and grasping it by the hair, which was long and bushy, he showed it to those who were still wavering and disposed to fly. These were amazed, and made obeisance to the king, so that very soon seventy thousand men were about him and marched back with him to their camp. He had marched out to the battle, as Ctesias says, with four hundred thousand men. But Deinon and Xenophon say that the army which fought under him was much larger. As to the number of his dead, Ctesias says that it

φησι πρὸς τὸν Ἀρτοξέρξην, αὐτῷ δὲ δισμυρίων
οὐκ ἐλάττους φανῆναι τοὺς κειμένους. ταῦτα μὲν
οὖν ἔχει διαμφισβήτησιν· ἐκεῖνο δὲ τοῦ Κτησίου
λαμπρὸν ἤδη ψεῦσμα, τὸ πεμφθῆναι φάναι πρὸς
τοὺς Ἕλληνας αὐτὸν μετὰ Φαλίνου τοῦ Ζακυνθίου
4 καί τινων ἄλλων. ὁ γὰρ Ξενοφῶν ἠπίστατο
συνδιατρίβοντα βασιλεῖ Κτησίαν· μέμνηται γὰρ
αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς βιβλίοις τούτοις ἐντετυχηκὼς
δῆλός ἐστιν· οὐκ ἂν οὖν ἐλθόντα καὶ λόγων
τοσούτων ἑρμηνέα γενόμενον παρῆκεν ἀνώνυμον,
Φαλῖνον δὲ τὸν Ζακύνθιον ὠνόμαζεν. ἀλλὰ δαι-
μονίως ὁ Κτησίας, ὡς ἔοικε, φιλότιμος ὢν καὶ
οὐχ ἧττον φιλολάκων καὶ φιλοκλέαρχος ἀεί τινας
ἐν τῇ διηγήσει χώρας ἑαυτῷ δίδωσιν, ἐν αἷς
γενόμενος πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ μεμνήσεται Κλεάρχου
καὶ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος.

XIV. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην δῶρα κάλλιστα μὲν
ἐξέπεμψε καὶ μέγιστα τῷ Ἀρταγέρσου παιδὶ τοῦ
πεσόντος ὑπὸ Κύρου, καλῶς δὲ καὶ Κτησίαν
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐτίμησε. τὸν δὲ Καύνιον ἐκεῖνον
ἐξανευρών, ὃς ἐπέδωκε τὸ ἀσκίον, ἐξ ἀδόξου καὶ
πένητος ἔντιμον καὶ πλούσιον ἐποίησεν. ἦν δέ τις
ἐπιμέλεια καὶ περὶ τὰς τῶν ἐξαμαρτόντων δικαι-
2 ώσεις. Ἀρβάκην μὲν γάρ τινα Μῆδον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ 1018
πρὸς Κῦρον φυγόντα καὶ πάλιν ἐκείνου πεσόντος
μεταστάντα, δειλίαν καὶ μαλακίαν καταγνούς, οὐ
προδοσίαν οὐδὲ κακόνοιαν, ἐκέλευσε γυμνὴν ἀνα-
λαβόντα πόρνην περιβάδην ἐπὶ τοῦ τραχήλου δι'
ἡμέρας ὅλης ἐν ἀγορᾷ περιφέρειν. ἑτέρου δὲ πρὸς

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[1] *Anab.* ii. 1. 7–23.

was reported to Artaxerxes as nine thousand, but that he himself thought the slain no fewer than twenty thousand. This matter, then, is in dispute. But it is certainly a glaring falsehood on the part of Ctesias to say that he was sent to the Greeks along with Phalinus the Zacynthian and certain others. For Xenophon knew that Ctesias was in attendance upon the king, since he makes mention of him and had evidently read his works; if, then, Ctesias had come to the Greeks and served as an interpeter in so momentous a colloquy, Xenophon would not have left him nameless and named only Phalinus the Zacynthian.[1] The truth is that Ctesias, being prodigiously ambitious, as it would seem, and none the less partial to Sparta and to Clearchus, always allows considerable space in his narrative for himself, and there he will say many fine things about Clearchus and Sparta.

XIV. After the battle, the king sent the largest and most beautiful gifts to the son of that Artagerses who fell at the hands of Cyrus; he also gave generous rewards to Ctesias and others, and when he had found out the Caunian who had given him the skin of water, he raised him from obscurity and poverty to honour and wealth. There was much watchful care also in his punishment of those who had gone wrong. For example, in the case of Arbaces, a Mede, who had run away to Cyrus during the battle, and, when Cyrus fell, had changed back again, the king pronounced him guilty, not of treachery, nor even of malice, but of cowardice and weakness, and ordered him to take a naked harlot astride his neck and carry her about in the market-place for a whole day. And in the case of another man, who, besides

τῷ μεταστῆναι ψευσαμένου καταβαλεῖν δύο τῶν πολεμίων, προσέταξε διαπεῖραι τρισὶ βελόναις
3 τὴν γλῶτταν. οἰόμενος δὲ καὶ βουλόμενος δοκεῖν καὶ λέγειν πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὡς αὐτὸς ἀπεκτόνοι Κῦρον, Μιθριδάτῃ τε τῷ βαλόντι πρώτῳ Κῦρον ἐξέπεμψε δῶρα καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς διδόντας ὡς "Τούτοις σε τιμᾷ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι τὸν ἐφίππειον Κύρου πῖλον εὑρὼν ἀνήνεγκας·" τοῦ δὲ Καρός, ὑφ' οὗ τὴν ἰγνύαν πληγεὶς ὁ Κῦρος ἔπεσε, καὶ αὐτοῦ δωρεὰν αἰτοῦντος, ἐκέλευσεν εἰπεῖν τοὺς διδόντας ὅτι "Σοὶ ταῦτα δίδωσιν βασιλεὺς εὐαγγελίων δευτερεῖα· πρῶτος γὰρ Ἀρτασύρας, μετ' ἐκεῖνον δὲ σὺ τὴν Κύρου τελευτὴν ἀπήγγειλας."
4 ὁ μὲν οὖν Μιθριδάτης ἀπῆλθε σιωπῇ λυπούμενος· τὸν δὲ ἄθλιον Κᾶρα κοινόν τι πάθος ἐξ ἀβελτερίας κατέσχε. διαφθαρεὶς γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀγαθῶν, καὶ ἀναπεισθεὶς εὐθὺς ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτόν, οὐκ ἠξίου τὰ δοθέντα μισθὸν εὐαγγελίων ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ἠγανάκτει μαρτυρόμενος καὶ βοῶν ὅτι Κῦρον οὐδεὶς ἕτερος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀπεκτόνοι, καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀδίκως ἀποστεροῖτο. ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσας ὁ βασιλεὺς σφόδρα παρωξύνθη καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐκέλευσεν ἀποτεμεῖν
5 τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. παροῦσα δ' ἡ μήτηρ, "Μὴ σύ γε," εἶπεν, "οὕτω τὸν Κᾶρα τοῦτον, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τὸν ὄλεθρον ἀπαλλάξῃς, ἀλλὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ τὸν ἄξιον ἀπολήψεται μισθὸν ὧν τολμᾷ λέγειν." ἐπιτρέψαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν τιμωριῶν ἡ Παρύσατις λαβόντας τὸν

going over to the enemy, had lyingly boasted that he had slain two of them, the king ordered that his tongue should be pierced with three needles. Moreover, believing, and wishing all men to think, and say, that he had killed Cyrus with his own hand, he sent gifts to Mithridates, the one who first hit Cyrus, and ordered the bearers of the gifts to say: "This is thy reward from the king because thou didst find and bring to him the trappings of the horse of Cyrus." Again, when the Carian, from whom Cyrus received the blow in the ham which brought him down, asked that he also should receive a gift, the king ordered its bearers to say: "The king gives thee these things as a second prize for good tidings; for Artasyras came first, and after him thou didst come, with tidings of the death of Cyrus." Now, Mithridates went away without a word, although he was vexed; but the wretched Carian, in his folly, gave way to a common feeling. That is, he was corrupted, it would seem, by the good things which he had, and led by them to aspire at once to things beyond his reach, so that he would not deign to take the gifts as a reward for good tidings, but was indignant, calling men to witness and crying in loud tones that it was he himself, and no one else, who had killed Cyrus, and that he was unjustly robbed of his glory. When the king heard of this, he was vehemently angry and gave orders that the man should be beheaded. Whereupon the king's mother, who was present, said to him: "O King, do not let this accursed Carian off so easily, but leave him to me, and he shall receive the fitting reward for his daring words." So the king consigned the man to Parysatis, who ordered the executioners to

ἄνθρωπον ἐφ' ἡμέρας δέκα στρεβλοῦν, εἶτα τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξορύξαντας εἰς τὰ ὦτα θερμὸν ἐντήκειν χαλκὸν ἕως ἀποθάνῃ.

XV. Κακῶς δὲ ἀπώλετο καὶ Μιθριδάτης μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀβελτερίας. κληθεὶς γὰρ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἔνθα καὶ βασιλέως καὶ τῆς μητρὸς εὐνοῦχοι παρῆσαν, ἧκεν ἐσθῆτι καὶ χρυσῷ
2 κεκοσμημένος οἷς ἔλαβε παρὰ βασιλέως. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς τὸ πίνειν ἀφίκοντο, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ μέγιστον δυνάμενος τῶν Παρυσάτιδος εὐνούχων· "Ὡς καλὴν μὲν ἐσθῆτά σοι ταύτην, ὦ Μιθριδάτα, ὁ βασιλεὺς δέδωκε, καλὰ δὲ στρεπτὰ καὶ ψέλια· πολλοῦ δὲ ἄξιος ὁ ἀκινάκης. ἦ μακάριόν σε καὶ περίβλεπτον ἅπασι πεποίηκεν." ἤδη δὲ μεθύων ὁ Μιθριδάτης, "Τί δὲ ταῦτά ἐστιν," εἶπεν, "ὦ Σπαραμίζη; μειζόνων γὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ καλλιόνων βασιλεῖ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἄξιον ἐμαυτὸν παρ-
3 έσχον." καὶ ὁ Σπαραμίζης ἐπιμειδιάσας, "Φθόνος μὲν οὐδείς, ὦ Μιθριδάτα," εἶπεν· "ἐπεὶ δέ φασιν Ἕλληνες οἶνον καὶ ἀλήθειαν εἶναι, τί λαμπρόν, ὦ τᾶν, ἢ μέγα, πῖλον εὑρεῖν ἵππου περιρρυέντα καὶ τοῦτον ἀνενεγκεῖν;" ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἀγνοῶν τὸ ἀληθὲς ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ βουλόμενος ἐκκαλύψαι πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ὑπεκίνει τὴν κουφότητα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου λάλου καὶ ἀκρατοῦς γεγονότος διὰ τὸν
4 οἶνον. εἶπεν οὖν μὴ κατασχών· "Ὑμεῖς μέν, ὅ τι βούλεσθε, πίλους λέγετε καὶ φλυάρους· ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμῖν λέγω διαρρήδην ὑπὸ ταύτης ἀνῃρῆσθαι Κῦρον τῆς χειρός. οὐ γὰρ ὡς Ἀρταγέρσης ἠκόντισα κενὸν καὶ μάταιον, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ὀφθαλμοῦ

take him and rack him on the wheel for ten days, then to gouge out his eyes, and finally to drop molten brass into his ears until he died.

XV. Mithridates also came to a miserable end a little while after, owing to the same folly. For being invited to a banquet at which eunuchs of the king and of the queen-mother were present, he came decked out with raiment and gold which he had received from the king. And when the company were at their cups, the chief eunuch of Parysatis said to him: "Mithridates, how beautiful this raiment is which the king gave thee, and how beautiful the collars and bracelets! Costly, too, is thy scimitar. Verily the king has made thee happy in the admiring eyes of all men." Then Mithridates, now flushed with wine, replied: "Sparamizes, what do these things amount to? Surely my services to the king on that day were worthy of greater and more beautiful gifts." Here Sparamizes smiled at him and said: "There's no grudging them to thee, Mithridates; but since, according to the Greek maxim, there is truth in wine, what great or brilliant exploit was it, my good fellow, to find a horse's trappings that had slipped off, and bring them to the king?" In saying this, Sparamizes was not ignorant of the truth, but he wished to unveil Mithridates to the company, and therefore slyly stirred up his vanity when wine had made him talkative and robbed him of self-control. Accordingly, Mithridates threw away constraint and said: "Ye may talk as ye please about horse-trappings and such nonsense; but I declare to you explicitly that Cyrus was slain by this hand of mine; for I did not, like Artagerses, make a futile and an idle cast of spear, but I

μικρὸν ἥμαρτον, τοῦ δὲ κροτάφου τυχὼν καὶ διελάσας κατέβαλον τὸν ἄνδρα· καὶ τέθνηκεν ὑπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ τραύματος." οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι τὸ τέλος ἤδη τοῦ Μιθριδάτου καὶ τὴν κακοδαιμονίαν ὁρῶντες εἰς τὴν γῆν ἔκυψαν· ὁ δ' ἑστιῶν αὐτούς, "Ὦ 1019
τᾶν," ἔφη, "Μιθριδάτα, πίνωμεν ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ ἐσθίωμεν τὸν βασιλέως δαίμονα προσκυνοῦντες, λόγους δὲ μείζους ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐάσωμεν."

XVI. Ἐκ τούτου τῇ μὲν Παρυσάτιδι φράζει τὸν λόγον ὁ εὐνοῦχος, ἐκείνη δὲ βασιλεῖ· βασιλεὺς δὲ ἠγανάκτησεν ὥσπερ ἐξελεγχόμενος καὶ τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ ἥδιστον ἀπολλύων τῆς νίκης. ἐβούλετο γὰρ βαρβάρους ἅπαντας πεπεῖσθαι καὶ Ἕλληνας ὡς ἐν ταῖς ἐξελάσεσι καὶ συμπλοκαῖς δοὺς καὶ λαβὼν πληγὴν ἐτρώθη μὲν αὐτός, ἔκτεινε δὲ ἐκεῖνον. ἐκέλευσεν οὖν τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἀποθανεῖν σκαφευθέντα.

2 Τὸ δὲ σκαφευθῆναι τοιοῦτόν ἐστι· σκάφας δύο πεποιημένας ἐφαρμόζειν ἀλλήλαις λαβόντες, εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν κατακλίνουσι τὸν κολαζόμενον ὕπτιον· εἶτα τὴν ἑτέραν ἐπάγοντες καὶ συναρμόζοντες, ὥστε τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἔξω καὶ τοὺς πόδας ἀπολαμβάνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σῶμα πᾶν ἀποκεκρύφθαι, διδόασιν ἐσθίειν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, κἂν μὴ θέλῃ, προσβιάζονται κεντοῦντες τὰ ὄμματα· φαγόντι δὲ πιεῖν μέλι καὶ γάλα συγκεκραμένον ἐγχέουσιν εἰς τὸ στόμα καὶ κατὰ τοῦ προσώπου
3 καταχέουσιν. εἶτα πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον ἀεὶ στρέφουσιν ἐναντία τὰ ὄμματα, καὶ μυιῶν προσκαθημέ-

narrowly missed his eye, struck him in the temple, pierced it, and brought the man down; and it was of that wound that he died." The rest of the company, then, who already saw the end of Mithridates and his hapless fate, bowed their faces towards the ground; and their host said: "My good Mithridates, let us eat and drink now, revering the good genius of the king, and let us waive discourse that is too weighty for us."

XVI. Afterwards the eunuch told the matter to Parysatis, and she to the king; and the king was incensed, as being openly convicted of falsehood, and likely to forfeit the fairest and most pleasing feature of his victory. For he wished that all Barbarians and all Greeks should be fully persuaded that when he and his brother had charged and grappled with each other, he had given and received a blow, being only wounded himself, but killing his brother. He therefore gave orders that Mithridates should be put to death by the torture of the boats.

Now, this torture of the boats is as follows. Two boats are taken, which are so made as to fit over one another closely; in one of these the victim is laid, flat upon his back; then the other is laid over the first and carefully adjusted, so that the victim's head, hands, and feet are left projecting, while the rest of his body is completely covered up. Then they give him food to eat, and if he refuse it, they force him to take it by pricking his eyes. After he has eaten, they give him a mixture of milk and honey to drink, pouring it into his mouth, and also deluge his face with it. Then they keep his eyes always turned towards the sun, and a swarm of flies settles down

νων πλῆθος πᾶν ἀποκρύπτεται τὸ πρόσωπον.
ἐντὸς δὲ ποιοῦντος ὅσα ποιεῖν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν
ἐσθίοντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ πίνοντας, εὐλαὶ καὶ
σκώληκες ὑπὸ φθορᾶς καὶ σηπεδόνος ἐκ τοῦ
περιττώματος ἀναζέουσιν, ὑφ' ὧν ἀναλίσκεται τὸ
4 σῶμα διαδυομένων εἰς τὰ ἐντός. ὅταν γὰρ ἤδη
φανερὸς ᾖ τεθνηκὼς ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀφαιρεθείσης
τῆς ἐπάνω σκάφης ὁρῶσι τὴν μὲν σάρκα κατεδη-
δεσμένην, περὶ δὲ τὰ σπλάγχνα τοιούτων θηρίων
ἑσμοὺς ἐσθιόντων καὶ προσπεφυκότων. οὕτως
ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἑπτακαίδεκα ἡμέρας φθειρόμενος
μόλις ἀπέθανε.

XVII. Λοιπὸς δ' ἦν τῇ Παρυσάτιδι σκοπὸς ὁ
τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμὼν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ Κύρου
Μασαβάτης, βασιλέως εὐνοῦχος. ὡς οὖν αὐτὸς
οὐδεμίαν καθ' ἑαυτοῦ λαβὴν παρεδίδου, τοιοῦτον
2 ἐπιβουλῆς τρόπον ἡ Παρύσατις συνέθηκεν. ἦν
τά τε ἄλλα θυμόσοφος γυνὴ καὶ δεινὴ κυβεύειν·
διὸ καὶ βασιλεῖ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου πολλάκις συν-
εκύβευε· μετὰ δὲ τὸν πόλεμον διαλυθεῖσα πρὸς
αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔφευγε τὰς φιλοφροσύνας, ἀλλὰ καὶ
συνέπαιζε καὶ τῶν ἐρωτικῶν ἐκοινώνει συμπράτ-
τουσα καὶ παροῦσα, καὶ ὅλως μικρότατον αὐτοῦ
τῇ Στατείρᾳ μετεδίδου χρῆσθαι καὶ συνεῖναι,
μισοῦσά τε μάλιστα πάντων ἐκείνην καὶ μέγιστον
3 αὐτὴ βουλομένη δύνασθαι. λαβοῦσα δή ποτε τὸν
Ἀρτοξέρξην ὡρμημένον ἀλύειν σχολῆς οὔσης
προὐκαλεῖτο περὶ χιλίων δαρεικῶν κυβεῦσαι· καὶ
κυβεύοντα περιεῖδε νικῆσαι καὶ τὸ χρυσίον ἀπ-
έδωκε. προσποιουμένη δὲ ἀνιᾶσθαι καὶ φιλονει-

upon his face and hides it completely. And since inside the boats he does what must needs be done when men eat and drink, worms and maggots seethe up from the corruption and rottenness of the excrement, devouring his body, and eating their way into his vitals. For when at last the man is clearly dead and the upper boat has been removed, his flesh is seen to have been consumed away, while about his entrails swarms of such animals as I have mentioned are clinging fast and eating. In this way Mithridates was slowly consumed for seventeen days, and at last died.

XVII. And now there was one mark left for the vengeance of Parysatis—the man who had cut off the head and right hand of Cyrus, Masabates, an eunuch of the king. Against this man, then, since he himself gave her no chance to get at him, Parysatis concocted a plot of the following sort. She was in general an ingenious woman, and greatly addicted to playing at dice. For this reason she frequently played at dice with the king before the war, and after the war was over and she had been reconciled with him, she did not try to avoid his friendly overtures, but actually joined in his diversions, and took part in his amours by her coöperation and presence, and, in a word, left very little of the king for Stateira's use and society. For she hated Stateira above all others, and wished to have the chief influence herself. So, one day, finding Artaxerxes trying to amuse himself in a vacant hour, she challenged him to play at dice for a thousand darics, allowed him to win the game, and paid the money down. Then, pretending to be chagrined at her loss and to seek revenge, she challenged the king to play

κεῖν ἐκέλευσεν αὖθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς περὶ εὐνούχου
4 διακυβεῦσαι· κἀκεῖνος ὑπήκουσε. ποιησάμενοι δὲ
συνθήκας πέντε μὲν ἑκάτερον ὑπεξελέσθαι τοὺς
πιστοτάτους, ἐκ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ὃν ἂν ὁ νικῶν
ἕληται, δοῦναι τὸν ἡττώμενον, ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκύ-
βευον. σφόδρα δὴ γενομένη πρὸς τῷ πράγματι
καὶ σπουδάσασα περὶ τὴν παιδιάν, εὖ δέ πως
αὐτῇ καὶ τῶν κύβων πεσόντων, νικήσασα λαμβά-
νει τὸν Μασαβάτην· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐν τοῖς ὑπεξῃρη-
5 μένοις. καὶ πρὶν ἐν ὑποψίᾳ γενέσθαι βασιλέα
τοῦ πράγματος ἐγχειρίσασα τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν τιμω-
ριῶν προσέταξεν ἐκδεῖραι ζῶντα, καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα
πλάγιον διὰ τριῶν σταυρῶν ἀναπῆξαι, τὸ δὲ δέρμα
χωρὶς διαπατταλεῦσαι. γενομένων δὲ τούτων καὶ
βασιλέως χαλεπῶς φέροντος καὶ παροξυνομένου
πρὸς αὐτήν, εἰρωνευομένη μετὰ γέλωτος, "Ὡς
ἡδύς," ἔφασκεν, "εἶ καὶ μακάριος, εἰ χαλεπαίνεις
διὰ γέροντα πονηρὸν εὐνοῦχον, ἐγὼ δὲ χιλίους ἐκ-
6 κυβευθεῖσα δαρεικοὺς σιωπῶ καὶ στέργω." βασι-
λεὺς μὲν οὖν ἐφ' οἷς ἐξηπατήθη μεταμελόμενος
ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν, ἡ δὲ Στάτειρα καὶ πρὸς τἆλλα
φανερῶς ἠναντιοῦτο καὶ τούτοις ἐδυσχέραινεν, ὡς
ἄνδρας εὐνούχους καὶ πιστοὺς βασιλεῖ διὰ Κῦρον
ὠμῶς καὶ παρανόμως ἀπολλυούσης αὐτῆς.

XVIII. Ἐπεὶ δὲ Κλέαρχον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους 1020
στρατηγοὺς Τισαφέρνης ἐξηπάτησε καὶ παρ-
εσπόνδησεν ὅρκων γενομένων καὶ συλλαβὼν ἀν-
έπεμψεν ἐν πέδαις δεδεμένους, δεηθῆναί φησιν
αὐτοῦ τὸν Κλέαρχον ὁ Κτησίας ὅπως κτενὸς
εὐπορήσειε. τυχόντα δὲ καὶ τημελήσαντα τὴν
κεφαλὴν ἡσθῆναί τε τῇ χρείᾳ καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον

a second game, with an eunuch for the stake, and the king consented. They agreed that both might reserve five of their most trusty eunuchs, but that from the rest the loser must give whichever one the winner might select, and on these conditions played their game. Parysatis took the matter much to heart and was in great earnest with her playing, and since the dice also fell in her favour, she won the game, and selected Masabates; for he was not among those who had been excepted. And before the king suspected her design, she put the eunuch in the hands of the executioners, who were ordered to flay him alive, to set up his body slantwise on three stakes, and to nail up his skin to a fourth. This was done, and when the king was bitterly incensed at her, she said to him, with a mocking laugh: "What a blessed simpleton thou art, to be incensed on account of a wretched old eunuch, when I, who have diced away a thousand darics, accept my loss without a word." So the king, although sorry that he had been deceived, kept quiet in the matter, but Stateira openly opposed Parysatis in other things, and above all was angry with her because, for the sake of Cyrus, she was cruelly and lawlessly putting to death eunuchs and others who were faithful to the king.

XVIII. Now, when Clearchus and his fellow-generals had been completely deceived by Tissaphernes,[1] and, contrary to solemn oaths, had been seized and sent up to the king in chains, Ctesias tells us that he was asked by Clearchus to provide him with a comb. Clearchus got the comb and dressed his hair, and being pleased at the service

[1] Cf. Xenophon, *Anab.* ii. 5.

αὐτῷ δοῦναι σύμβολον φιλίας πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Λακεδαίμονι συγγενεῖς καὶ οἰκείους· εἶναι δὲ γλυφὴν ἐν τῇ σφραγῖδι Καρυάτιδας ὀρχουμένας.
2 τὰ δὲ πεμπόμενα σιτία τῷ Κλεάρχῳ τοὺς συνδεδεμένους στρατιώτας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι καὶ καταναλίσκειν, ὀλίγα τῷ Κλεάρχῳ διδόντας ἀπ' αὐτῶν. ἰάσασθαι δὲ καὶ τοῦτό φησιν ὁ Κτησίας, πλείονα τῷ Κλεάρχῳ πέμπεσθαι διαπραξάμενος, ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἕτερα τοῖς στρατιώταις δίδοσθαι· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὑπουργῆσαι καὶ παρασχεῖν χάριτι καὶ γνώμῃ τῆς
3 Παρυσάτιδος. πεμπομένου δὲ καθ' ἡμέραν τῷ Κλεάρχῳ κωλῆνος ἐπὶ τοῖς σιτίοις, παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ διδάσκειν ὡς χρὴ μικρὸν εἰς τὸ κρέας ἐμβαλόντα μαχαίριον ἀποκρύψαντα πέμψαι καὶ μὴ περιϊδεῖν ἐν τῇ βασιλέως ὠμότητι τὸ τέλος αὐτοῦ γενόμενον· αὐτὸς δὲ φοβούμενος μὴ ἐθελῆσαι. βασιλέα δὲ τῇ μὲν μητρὶ παραιτουμένῃ μὴ κτεῖναι τὸν Κλέαρχον ὁμολογῆσαι καὶ ὀμόσαι· πεισθέντα δὲ αὖθις ὑπὸ τῆς Στατείρας ἀποκτεῖναι
4 πάντας πλὴν Μένωνος. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὴν Παρύσατιν ἐπιβουλεῦσαι τῇ Στατείρᾳ καὶ συσκευάσασθαι τὴν φαρμακείαν κατ' αὐτῆς, οὐκ εἰκότα λέγων, ἀλλὰ πολλὴν ἀλογίαν ἔχοντα τῆς αἰτίας, εἰ δεινὸν ἔργον οὕτως ἔδρασε καὶ παρεκινδύνευσεν ἡ Παρύσατις διὰ Κλέαρχον, ἀνελεῖν τολμήσασα τὴν γνησίαν βασιλέως γυναῖκα καὶ τέκνων κοινω-
5 νὸν ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ τρεφομένων. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἄδηλον ὡς ἐπιτραγῳδεῖται τῇ Κλεάρχου μνήμῃ. καὶ γὰρ ἀναιρεθέντων φησὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ὑπὸ κυνῶν σπαράττεσθαι

rendered, gave Ctesias his ring as a token of friendship which he might show to his kindred and friends in Sparta; and the device in the seal was a group of dancing Caryatides. Moreover, as Ctesias says, the provisions sent to Clearchus were seized by the soldiers in captivity with him, who consumed them freely and gave only a small part of them to Clearchus. This hardship also Ctesias says he remedied, by getting more provisions sent to Clearchus, and a separate supply given to the soldiers; and these services he says he rendered and performed to please Parysatis, and at her suggestion. He says further that a flitch of bacon was sent to Clearchus every day to supplement his rations, and that Clearchus earnestly advised him that he ought to bury a small knife in the meat and send it to him thus hidden away, and not allow his fate to be determined by the cruelty of the king; but he was afraid, and would not consent to do this. The king, Ctesias says, at the solicitation of his mother, agreed and swore not to kill Clearchus; but he was won back again by Stateira, and put all the generals to death except Menon. It was because of this, Ctesias says, that Parysatis plotted against the life of Stateira and prepared the poison for her. But it is an unlikely story, and one that gives an absurd motive for her course, to say that Parysatis thus risked and wrought a dreadful deed because of Clearchus, and dared to kill the king's lawful wife, who was the mother by him of children reared for the throne. Nay, it is quite evident that he adds this sensational detail out of regard for the memory of Clearchus. For he says that after the generals had been put to death, the rest of them were torn by dogs and birds, but that

καὶ ὀρνέων, τῷ δὲ Κλεάρχου νεκρῷ θύελλαν ἀνέμου γῆς θῖνα πολλὴν φέρουσαν ἐπιχῶσαι καὶ ἐπικρύψαι τὸ σῶμα· φοινίκων δέ τινων διασπαρέντων ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ θαυμαστὸν ἄλσος ἀναφῦναι καὶ κατασκιάσαι τὸν τόπον, ὥστε καὶ βασιλεῖ σφόδρα μεταμέλειν, ὡς ἄνδρα θεοῖς φίλον ἀνῃρηκότι τὸν Κλέαρχον.

XIX. Ἡ δ' οὖν Παρύσατις, μίσους τε πρὸς τὴν Στάτειραν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑποκειμένου καὶ ζηλοτυπίας, ὁρῶσα τὴν μὲν αὐτῆς δύναμιν αἰδουμένου βασιλέως καὶ τιμῶντος οὖσαν, τὴν δ' ἐκείνης ἔρωτι καὶ πίστει βέβαιον καὶ ἰσχυράν, ἐπεβούλευσεν ὑπὲρ τῶν
2 μεγίστων, ὡς ᾤετο, παραβαλλομένη. θεράπαιναν εἶχε πιστὴν καὶ δυναμένην παρ' αὐτῇ μέγιστον ὄνομα Γίγιν, ἣν ὁ μὲν Δείνων ὑπουργῆσαι τῇ φαρμακείᾳ φησί, συγγνῶναι δὲ μόνον ἄκουσαν ὁ Κτησίας. τὸν δὲ δόντα τὸ φάρμακον οὗτος μὲν ὀνομάζει Βελιτάραν, ὁ δὲ Δείνων Μελάνταν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς πρόσθεν ὑποψίας καὶ διαφορᾶς ἀρξάμεναι πάλιν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ φοιτᾶν καὶ συνδειπνεῖν ἀλλήλαις, ὅμως τῷ δεδιέναι καὶ φυλάττεσθαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς σιτίοις καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐχρῶντο.
3 γίνεται δὲ μικρὸν ἐν Πέρσαις ὀρνίθιον, ᾧ περιττώματος οὐδέν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ὅλον διάπλεων πιμελῆς τὰ ἐντός· καὶ νομίζουσιν ἀνέμῳ καὶ δρόσῳ τρέφεσθαι τὸ ζῷον· ὀνομάζεται δὲ ῥυντάκης. τοῦτό φησιν ὁ Κτησίας μικρᾷ μαχαιρίδι κεχρισμένῃ τῷ φαρμάκῳ κατὰ θάτερα τὴν Παρύσατιν διαιροῦσαν ἐκμάξαι τῷ ἑτέρῳ μέρει τὸ φάρμακον· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄχραντον καὶ καθαρὸν εἰς τὸ στόμα βαλοῦσαν

in the case of Clearchus, a blast of wind carried a great mass of earth and heaped it in a mound which covered his body; upon this some dates fell here and there, and in a short time a wonderful grove of trees sprang up and overshadowed the place, so that even the king was sorely repentant, believing that in Clearchus he had killed a man whom the gods loved.

XIX. Parysatis, accordingly, who from the outset had a lurking hatred and jealousy of Stateira, saw that her own influence with the king was based on feelings of respect and honour, while that of Stateira was grounded fast and strong in love and confidence; she therefore plotted against her life and played for what she thought the highest stake. She had a trusted maidservant named Gigis, who had most influence with her and assisted her in preparing the poison, according to Deinon, although Ctesias says she was merely privy to the deed, and that against her will. The poison was actually given by a man named Belitaras, according to Ctesias; Deinon gives his name as Melantas. After a period of dissension and suspicion, the two women[1] had begun again to meet and eat with one another, although their mutual fear and caution led them to partake of the same dishes served by the same hands. Now, there is a little Persian bird which has no excrement, but is all full of fat inside; and the creature is thought to live upon air and dew; the name of it is "rhyntaces." It was a bird of this species, according to Ctesias, that Parysatis cut in two with a little knife smeared with poison on one side, thus wiping the poison off upon one part only of the bird; the undefiled and wholesome part she then put into her

[1] *i.e.*, Parysatis and Stateira.

αὐτὴν ἐσθίειν, δοῦναι δὲ τῇ Στατείρᾳ τὸ πεφαρμαγ-
4 μένον· ὁ δὲ Δείνων οὐ τὴν Παρύσατιν, ἀλλὰ τὸν
Μελάνταν τέμνοντα τῷ μαχαιρίῳ τὰ φαρμασ-
σόμενα τῶν κρεῶν τιθέναι κατὰ τὴν Στάτειραν.
ἀποθνήσκουσα δ' οὖν ἡ γυνὴ μετὰ πόνων μεγάλων 1021
καὶ σπαραγμῶν αὐτή τε συνῃσθάνετο τοῦ κακοῦ
καὶ βασιλεῖ παρέσχεν ὑποψίαν κατὰ τῆς μητρός,
5 εἰδότι τὸ θηριῶδες αὐτῆς καὶ δυσμείλικτον. ὅθεν
εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ζήτησιν ὁρμήσας τοὺς μὲν ὑπηρέτας
καὶ τραπεζοκόμους τῆς μητρὸς συνέλαβε καὶ
κατεστρέβλωσε, τὴν δὲ Γίγιν ἡ Παρύσατις πολὺν
χρόνον εἶχεν οἴκοι μεθ' αὐτῆς καὶ βασιλέως
ἐξαιτοῦντος οὐκ ἔδωκεν, ἀλλ' ὕστερον αὐτῆς
δεηθείσης εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἀφεθῆναι νυκτός, αἰσθό-
μενος καὶ λόχον ὑφεὶς συνήρπασε καὶ κατέγνω
6 θάνατον. ἀποθνήσκουσι δὲ οἱ φαρμακεῖς ἐν
Πέρσαις κατὰ νόμον οὕτως· λίθος ἐστὶ πλατύς,
ἐφ' οὗ τὴν κεφαλὴν καταθέντες αὐτῶν ἑτέρῳ λίθῳ
παίουσι καὶ πιέζουσιν, ἄχρι οὗ συνθλάσωσι τὸ
πρόσωπον καὶ τὴν κεφαλήν. ἡ μὲν οὖν Γίγις
οὕτως ἀπέθανε, τὴν δὲ Παρύσατιν ὁ Ἀρτοξέρξης
ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν οὔτε εἶπε κακὸν οὔτε ἐποίησεν,
εἰς δὲ Βαβυλῶνα βουλομένην ἐξέπεμψεν εἰπών,
ἕως ἐκείνη περίεστιν αὐτὸς οὐκ ὄψεσθαι Βαβυ-
λῶνα. τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν οὕτως εἶχεν.

XX. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοὺς Κύρῳ συναναβάντας Ἕλ-
ληνας σπουδάσας λαβεῖν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐδὲν ἧττον
ἢ Κύρου περιγενέσθαι καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν κατα-
σχεῖν οὐκ ἔλαβεν, ἀλλὰ Κῦρον τὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ
τοὺς αὐτῶν στρατηγοὺς ἀποβαλόντες ἐξ αὐτῶν
μονονουχὶ τῶν βασιλείων ἐσώθησαν, ἐξελέγξαντες

own mouth and ate, but gave to Stateira the poisoned part. Deinon, however, says it was not Parysatis, but Melantas who cut the bird with the knife and placed the flesh that was poisoned before Stateira. Be that as it may, the woman died, in convulsions and great suffering, and she comprehended the evil that had befallen her, and brought the king to suspect his mother, whose fierce and implacable nature he knew. The king, therefore, at once set out upon the inquest, arrested the servants and table-attendants of his mother, and put them on the rack. Gigis, however, Parysatis kept for a long time at home with her, and would not give her up at the king's demand. But after a while Gigis herself begged to be dismissed to her own home by night. The king learned of this, set an ambush for her, seized her, and condemned her to death. Now, the legal mode of death for poisoners in Persia is as follows. There is a broad stone, and on this the head of the culprit is placed; and then with another stone they smite and pound until they crush the face and head to pulp. It was in this manner, then, that Gigis died; but Parysatis was not further rebuked or harmed by Artaxerxes, except that he sent her off to Babylon, in accordance with her wish, saying that as long as she lived he himself would not see Babylon. Such was the state of the king's domestic affairs.

XX. Now, the king was no less eager to capture the Greeks who had come up with Cyrus than he had been to conquer Cyrus and preserve his throne. Nevertheless, he could not capture them, but though they had lost Cyrus their leader and their own commanders, they rescued themselves from his very palace, as one might say, thus proving clearly to the

καὶ ἀποφήναντες τὰ Περσῶν καὶ βασιλέως πράγματα χρυσὸν ὄντα πολὺν καὶ τρυφὴν καὶ γυ-
2 ναῖκας, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τῦφον καὶ ἀλαζονείαν, πᾶσα μὲν ἡ Ἑλλὰς ἐξεθάρρησε καὶ κατεφρόνησε τῶν βαρβάρων, Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ καὶ δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο μὴ νῦν γε δουλείας ἐξελέσθαι τοὺς τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικοῦντας Ἕλληνας μηδὲ παῦσαι προπηλακιζομένους ὑπ' αὐτῶν. πρότερον δὲ διὰ Θίμβρωνος, εἶτα διὰ Δερκυλλίδου πολεμοῦντες, οὐδὲν δὲ πράττοντες ἀξιόλογον, Ἀγησιλάῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ
3 τὸν πόλεμον ἐπέτρεψαν. ὁ δὲ περαιωθεὶς ναυσὶν εἰς Ἀσίαν εὐθὺς ἦν ἐνεργὸς καὶ δόξαν εἶχε μεγάλην καὶ Τισαφέρνην παραταξάμενος ἐνίκησε καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀφίστη. τούτων δὲ γενομένων συμφρονήσας ὁ Ἀρτοξέρξης ὃν τρόπον αὐτοῖς ἐστι πολεμητέον, ἔπεμψε Τιμοκράτην τὸν Ῥόδιον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα χρυσίον πολὺ κομίζοντα, διδόναι καὶ διαφθείρειν τοὺς πλεῖστον ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι δυναμένους κελεύσας, καὶ πόλεμον Ἑλληνικὸν
4 κινεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν Λακεδαίμονα. τοῦ δὲ Τιμοκράτους ταῦτα πράττοντος καὶ τῶν μεγίστων πόλεων συνισταμένων καὶ τῆς Πελοποννήσου διαταραττομένης, μετεπέμποντο τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας οἱ ἄρχοντες. ὅτε δὴ καί φασιν αὐτὸν ἀπιόντα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἰπεῖν ὡς τρισμυρίοις τοξόταις ἐξελαύνοιτο τῆς Ἀσίας ὑπὸ βασιλέως· τὸ γὰρ Περσικὸν νόμισμα τοξότην ἐπίσημον εἶχεν.

XXI. Ἐξέβαλε δὲ καὶ τῆς θαλάττης Λακεδαιμονίους Κόνωνι τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ μετὰ Φαρναβάζου στρατηγῷ χρησάμενος. ὁ γὰρ Κόνων

world that the empire of the Persians and their king abounded in gold and luxury and women, but in all else was an empty vaunt. Therefore all Greece took heart and despised the Barbarians, and the Lacedaemonians in particular thought it strange if now at least they could not rescue the Greeks that dwelt in Asia from servitude, and put a stop to their outrageous treatment at the hands of the Persians. The war they waged was at first conducted by Thimbron, and then by Dercyllidas, but since they accomplished nothing worthy of note, they at last put the conduct of the war in the hands of their king, Agesilaüs. He crossed over to Asia with a fleet, went to work at once, won great fame, defeated Tissaphernes in a pitched battle, and set the Greek cities in revolt. This being the case, Artaxerxes considered how he must carry on the war with Agesilaüs, and sent Timocreon the Rhodian into Greece with a great sum of money, bidding him use it for the corruption of the most influential men in the cities there, and for stirring up the Greeks to make war upon Sparta. Timocrates did as he was bidden, the most important cities conspired together against Sparta, Peloponnesus was in a turmoil, and the Spartan magistrates summoned Agesilaüs home from Asia. It was at this time, as we are told, and as he was going home, that Agesilaüs said to his friends; "The king has driven me out of Asia with thirty thousand archers"; for the Persian coin has the figure of an archer stamped upon it.[1]

XXI. The king also expelled the Lacedaemonians from the sea, employing Conon the Athenian as his commander along with Pharnabazus. For Conon

[1] Cf. the *Agesilaüs*, xv. 6.

διέτριβε μὲν ἐν Κύπρῳ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Αἰγὸς ποτα-
μοῖς ναυμαχίαν, οὐ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἀγαπῶν, ἀλλὰ
τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων μεταβολήν, ὥσπερ ἐν πε-
2 λάγει τροπήν, περιμένων. ὁρῶν δὲ καὶ τοὺς
ἑαυτοῦ λογισμοὺς δυνάμεως καὶ τὴν βασιλέως
δύναμιν ἀνδρὸς ἔμφρονος δεομένην, ἔπεμψεν ἐπι-
στολὴν βασιλεῖ περὶ ὧν διενοεῖτο. καὶ ταύτην
ἐκέλευσε τὸν κομίζοντα μάλιστα μὲν ἀποδοῦναι
διὰ Ζήνωνος τοῦ Κρητὸς ἢ Πολυκρίτου τοῦ Μεν-
δαίου· τούτων δ' ἦν ὁ μὲν Ζήνων ὀρχηστής, ὁ
δὲ Πολύκριτος ἰατρός· ἂν δὲ οὗτοι μὴ παρῶσι,
3 διὰ Κτησίου τοῦ ἰατροῦ. λέγεται δὲ ὁ Κτησίας
τὴν ἐπιστολὴν λαβὼν παρεγγράψαι τοῖς ὑπὸ
τοῦ Κόνωνος ἐπεσταλμένοις ὅπως καὶ Κτησίαν
ἀποστείλῃ πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς ὠφέλιμον ὄντα ταῖς
ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ πράξεσιν. ὁ δὲ Κτησίας αὐτὸν ἀφ'
ἑαυτοῦ βασιλέα φησὶ προσθεῖναι τὴν λειτουρ-
γίαν αὐτῷ ταύτην.
4 Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ κρατήσας τῇ περὶ Κνίδον ναυμαχίᾳ 1022
διὰ Φαρναβάζου καὶ Κόνωνος ἀφείλετο τὴν κα-
τὰ θάλατταν ἀρχὴν Λακεδαιμονίους, ἐπέστρεψε
πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πρὸς αὐτόν, ὥστε καὶ
τὴν περιβόητον εἰρήνην βραβεῦσαι τοῖς Ἕλλησι
5 τὴν ἐπ' Ἀνταλκίδου προσαγορευομένην. ὁ δὲ
Ἀνταλκίδας Σπαρτιάτης ἦν, Λέοντος υἱός, καὶ
σπουδάσας βασιλεῖ διεπράξατο τὰς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ
πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας ἁπάσας καὶ νήσους, ὅσαι
προσκυροῦσιν Ἀσίᾳ, παρεῖναι Λακεδαιμονίους
αὐτῷ κεκτῆσθαι φόρων ὑποτελεῖς, εἰρήνης γενο-
μένης τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, εἰ δεῖ τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος
ὕβριν καὶ προδοσίαν εἰρήνην καλεῖν, ἧς πόλεμος
οὐδεὶς ἀκλεέστερον ἤνεγκε τέλος τοῖς κρατηθεῖσι.

passed the time at Cyprus, after the sea-fight at Aegospotami,[1] not satisfied with mere safety, but awaiting a reversal in the course of affairs, as he would a change of wind at sea. And seeing that his own plans needed a military force, and the king's force needed a sagacious leader, he wrote a letter to the king explaining his purposes. This letter he ordered the bearer, if possible, to give the king by the hand of Zeno the Cretan or Polycritus the Mendaean (Zeno was a teacher of dancing, and Polycritus was a physician); but if these were not at court, by the hand of Ctesias the physician. And it is said that Ctesias, on receiving the letter, added to the suggestions which Conon made to the king a request to send Ctesias also to him, as likely to be of service in matters on the sea-coast. Ctesias, however, says that the king of his own accord conferred upon him this new duty.

But after Artaxerxes, by the sea-fight which Pharnabazus and Conon won for him off Cnidus, had stripped the Lacedaemonians of their power on the sea, he brought the whole of Greece into dependence upon him, so that he dictated to the Greeks the celebrated peace called the Peace of Antalcidas.[2] Now Antalcidas was a Spartan, son of Leon, and acting in the interests of the king he induced the Lacedaemonians to surrender to the king all the Greek cities of Asia, and all the islands adjacent to Asia, to possess them on payment of tribute; and peace was thus established among the Greeks, if the mockery and betrayal of Greece can be called peace, a peace than which no war ever brought a more inglorious consummation to the defeated.

[1] 405 B.C. Cf. the *Alcibiades* xxxvii. 2.
[2] In 387 B.C. Cf. the *Agesilaüs*, xxiii. 1 ff.

XXII. Διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Σπαρτιάτας ἀεὶ βδελυττόμενος ὁ Ἀρτοξέρξης, καὶ νομίζων, ὥς φησι Δείνων, ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων ἀναιδεστάτους εἶναι, τὸν Ἀνταλκίδαν ὑπερηγάπησεν εἰς Πέρσας ἀναβάντα. καί ποτε λαβὼν ἕνα τῶν ἀνθινῶν στεφάνων καὶ βάψας εἰς μύρον τὸ πολυτελέστατον, ἀπὸ δείπνου ἔπεμψε τῷ Ἀνταλκίδᾳ· καὶ
2 πάντες ἐθαύμασαν τὴν φιλοφροσύνην. ἦν δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐπιτήδειος οὗτος ἐντρυφηθῆναι καὶ τοιοῦτον λαβεῖν στέφανον, ἐξορχησάμενος ἐν Πέρσαις τὸν Λεωνίδαν καὶ τὸν Καλλικρατίδαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἀγησίλαος, ὡς ἔοικε, πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, "Φεῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὅπου μηδίζουσιν ἡμῖν οἱ Λάκωνες," "Οὐ μᾶλλον," εἶπεν, "οἱ Μῆδοι λακωνίζουσι;" τοῦ δὲ ῥήματος ἡ κομψότης τὴν τοῦ πράγματος αἰσχύνην οὐκ ἀφεῖλεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπώλεσαν ἐν Λεύκτροις ἀγωνισάμενοι κακῶς, ἡ δὲ δόξα τῆς Σπάρτης προαπώλετο ταῖς ὁμολογίαις ἐκείναις.

3 Ἄχρι μὲν οὖν ἐπρώτευεν ἡ Σπάρτη, ξένον ἐποιεῖτο καὶ φίλον ὠνόμαζεν ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Ἀνταλκίδαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡττήθησαν ἐν Λεύκτροις, ταπεινὰ πράττοντες ἐδέοντο μὲν χρημάτων καὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐξέπεμψαν, ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας ἀνέβη πρὸς τὸν Ἀρτοξέρξην παρακαλῶν
4 ἐπαρκέσαι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις. ὁ δ' οὕτως ἐξημέλησε καὶ παρεῖδε καὶ ἀπέρριψεν αὐτόν, ὥστε καταβάντα καὶ χλευαζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, φοβούμενον δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους, ἀποκαρτερῆσαι.

Ἀνέβη δὲ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ Ἰσμηνίας ὁ

XXII. For this reason Artaxerxes, although he always held other Spartans in abomination, and considered them, as Deinon tells us, the most shameless of all mankind, showed great affection for Antalcidas when he came up to Persia. On one occasion he actually took a wreath of flowers, dipped it in the most costly ointment, and sent it to Antalcidas after supper; and all men wondered at the kindness.[1] But Antalcidas was a fit person, as it would seem, to be exquisitely treated and to receive such a wreath, now that he had danced away among the Persians the fair fame of Leonidas and Callicratidas. For Agesilaüs, as it would appear, when someone said to him: "Alas for Greece, now that the Spartans are medizing," replied, "Are not the Medes the rather spartanizing?" However, the wittiness of the speech could not remove the shame of the deed, and the Spartans lost their supremacy in the disastrous battle of Leuctra,[2] though the glory of Sparta had been lost before that by this treaty.

So long, then, as Sparta kept the first place in Greece, Artaxerxes treated Antalcidas as his guest and called him his friend; but after the Spartans had been defeated at Leuctra, they fell so low as to beg for money, and sent Agesilaüs to Egypt, while Antalcidas went up to Artaxerxes to ask him to supply the wants of the Lacedaemonians. The king, however, so neglected and slighted and rejected him that, when he came back home, being railed at by his enemies, and being in fear of the ephors, he starved himself to death.

Ismenias the Theban also, and Pelopidas, who had

[1] Cf. the *Pelopidas*, xxx. 4.
[2] In 371 B.C. Cf. the *Agesilaüs*, xxviii. 5.

Θηβαῖος καὶ Πελοπίδας ἤδη τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχην νενικηκώς. ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν οὐδὲν αἰσχρὸν ἐποίησεν· Ἰσμηνίας δὲ προσκυνῆσαι κελευόμενος ἐξέβαλε πρὸ αὑτοῦ χαμᾶζε τὸν δακτύλιον, εἶτα κύψας ἀνείλετο καὶ παρέσχε δόξαν προσκυνοῦντος.
5 Τιμαγόρᾳ δὲ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ διὰ Βηλούριδος τοῦ γραμματέως εἰσπέμψαντι γραμματίδιον ἀπόρρητον ἡσθεὶς μυρίους τε δαρεικοὺς ἔδωκε, καὶ γάλακτος βοείου δεομένῳ δι' ἀσθένειαν ὀγδοήκοντα βοῦς ἀμέλγεσθαι παρηκολούθουν· ἔτι δὲ κλίνην καὶ στρώματα καὶ τοὺς στρωννύντας ἔπεμψεν, ὡς οὐ μεμαθηκότων Ἑλλήνων ὑποστρωννύναι, καὶ φορεῖς τοὺς κομίζοντας αὐτὸν μέχρι
6 θαλάσσης μαλακῶς ἔχοντα. παρόντι δὲ δεῖπνον ἐπέμπετο λαμπρότατον, ὥστε καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ βασιλέως, Ὀστάνην, "Ὦ Τιμαγόρα," φάναι, "μέμνησο ταύτης τῆς τραπέζης· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ μικροῖς οὕτω σοι κεκοσμημένη παράκειται." τοῦτο δ' ἦν ὀνειδισμὸς εἰς προδοσίαν μᾶλλον ἢ χάριτος ὑπόμνησις. Τιμαγόρου μὲν οὖν διὰ τὴν δωροδοκίαν Ἀθηναῖοι θάνατον κατέγνωσαν.

XXIII. Ὁ δὲ Ἀρτοξέρξης ἓν ἀντὶ πάντων ὧν ἐλύπει τοὺς Ἕλληνας εὔφραινε, Τισαφέρνην τὸν ἔχθιστον αὐτοῖς καὶ δυσμενέστατον ἀποκτείνας. ἀπέκτεινε δὲ ταῖς διαβολαῖς αὐτοῦ τῆς Παρυσάτιδος συνεπιθεμένης. οὐ γὰρ ἐνέμεινε τῇ ὀργῇ πολὺν χρόνον ὁ βασιλεύς, ἀλλὰ διηλλάγη τῇ μητρὶ καὶ μετεπέμψατο, νοῦν μὲν ὁρῶν ἔχουσαν 1023

[1] Cf. the *Pelopidas*, xxx. 1–3.
[2] Cf. the *Pelopidas*, xxx. 6 f.
[3] Cf. the *Agesilaüs*, x. 3 f.

just been victorious in the battle of Leuctra, went up to the king.[1] Pelopidas did nothing to disgrace himself; but Ismenias, when ordered to make the obeisance to the king, threw his ring down on the ground in front of him, and then stooped and picked it up, thus giving men to think that he was making the obeisance. With Timagoras the Athenian, however, who sent to him by his secretary, Beluris, a secret message in writing, the king was so pleased that he gave him ten thousand darics, and eighty milch cows to follow in his train because he was sick and required cow's milk; and besides, he sent him a couch, with bedding for it, and servants to make the bed (on the ground that the Greeks had not learned the art of making beds), and bearers to carry him down to the sea-coast, enfeebled as he was. Moreover, during his presence at court, he used to send him a most splendid supper, so that Ostanes, the brother of the king, said: "Timagoras, remember this table; it is no slight return which thou must make for such an array." Now this was a reproach for his treachery rather than a reminder of the king's favour. At any rate, for his venality, Timagoras was condemned to death by the Athenians.[2]

XXIII. But there was one thing by which Artaxerxes gladdened the hearts of the Greeks, in return for all the evils which he wrought them, and that was his putting Tissaphernes to death, their most hated and malicious enemy.[3] And he put him to death in consequence of accusations against him which were seconded by Parysatis. For the king did not long persist in his wrath against his mother, but was reconciled with her and summoned her to court, since he saw that she had intellect and a lofty

καὶ φρόνημα βασιλείας ἄξιον, αἰτίας δὲ μηδεμιᾶς
οὔσης ἐμποδὼν ἔτι δι' ἣν ὑπόψονται συνόντες
2 ἀλλήλοις ἢ λυπήσουσιν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πάντα
πρὸς χάριν ὑπουργοῦσα βασιλεῖ, καὶ τῷ πρὸς
μηδὲν ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἔπραττε δυσκολαίνειν ἔχουσα
τὸ δύνασθαι παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ τυγχάνειν ἁπάντων,
ᾔσθετο τῆς ἑτέρας τῶν θυγατέρων, Ἀτόσσης,
ἐρῶντος ἔρωτα δεινόν, ἐπικρυπτομένου δὲ δι' ἐκεί-
νην οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ κολάζοντος τὸ πάθος, ὥς
φασιν ἔνιοι, καίτοι γεγενημένης ἤδη πρὸς τὴν
3 παρθένον ὁμιλίας αὐτῷ λαθραίας. ὡς οὖν ὑπώ-
πτευσεν ἡ Παρύσατις, τὴν παῖδα μᾶλλον ἢ πρό-
τερον ἠσπάζετο, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ἀρτοξέρξην ἐπῄνει
τό τε κάλλος αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ ἦθος, ὡς βασιλικῆς καὶ
μεγαλοπρεποῦς. τέλος οὖν γῆμαι τὴν κόρην
ἔπεισε καὶ γνησίαν ἀποδεῖξαι γυναῖκα, χαίρειν
ἐάσαντα δόξας Ἑλλήνων καὶ νόμους, Πέρσαις δὲ
νόμον αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ δικαιωτὴν αἰσχρῶν
4 καὶ καλῶν ἀποδεδειγμένον. ἔνιοι μέντοι λέγου-
σιν, ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Κυμαῖος, οὐ μίαν
μόνον τῶν θυγατέρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ δευτέραν, Ἄμη-
στριν, γῆμαι τὸν Ἀρτοξέρξην, περὶ ἧς ὀλίγον
ὕστερον ἀπαγγελοῦμεν. τὴν δ' Ἄτοσσαν οὕτως
ἠγάπησεν ὁ πατὴρ συνοικοῦσαν ὥστε ἀλφοῦ κατα-
νεμηθέντος αὐτῆς τὸ σῶμα δυσχερᾶναι μὲν ἐπὶ
5 τούτῳ μηδ' ὁτιοῦν, εὐχόμενος δὲ περὶ αὐτῆς τῇ
Ἥρᾳ προσκυνῆσαι μόνην θεῶν ἐκείνην, ταῖς χερσὶ
τῆς γῆς ἁψάμενος, δῶρά τε τῇ θεῷ τοσαῦτα
πέμψαι τοὺς σατράπας καὶ φίλους αὐτοῦ κελεύ-
σαντος ὥστε τὰ μεταξὺ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τῶν βασι-
λείων ἑκκαίδεκα στάδια χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ
πορφύρας καὶ ἵππων ἐμπλησθῆναι.

spirit worthy of a queen, and since there was no longer any ground for their suspecting and injuring one another if they were together. After this she consulted the king's pleasure in all things, and by approving of everything that he did, acquired influence with him and achieved all her ends. She perceived that the king was desperately in love with one of his two daughters, Atossa, and that, chiefly on his mother's account, he was trying to conceal and restrain his passion, although some say that he had already had secret intercourse with the girl. When, accordingly, Parysatis became suspicious of the matter, she showed the girl more affection than before, and would speak to Artaxerxes in praise of her beauty and her disposition, saying that she was truly royal and magnificent. At last, then, she persuaded the king to marry the girl and proclaim her his lawful wife, ignoring the opinions and laws of the Greeks, and regarding himself as appointed by Heaven to be a law unto the Persians and an arbitrator of good and evil. Some, however, say, and among them is Heracleides of Cymé, that Artaxerxes married, not one of his daughters only, but also a second, Amestris, of whom we shall speak a little later.[1] Atossa, however, was so beloved by her father as his consort, that when her body was covered with leprosy he was not offended at this in the least, but offered prayers to Hera in her behalf, making his obeisance and clutching the earth before this goddess as he did before no other; while his satraps and friends, at his command, sent the goddess so many gifts that the sixteen furlongs between her sanctuary and the royal palace were filled with gold and silver and purple and horses.

[1] Chap. xxvii. 4.

XXIV. Πόλεμον δὲ πρὸς μὲν Αἰγυπτίους διὰ Φαρναβάζου καὶ Ἰφικράτους ἐξενεγκὼν ἀπέτυχε, στασιασάντων ἐκείνων· ἐπὶ δὲ Καδουσίους αὐτὸς ἐστράτευσε τριάκοντα μυριάσι πεζῶν καὶ μυρίοις ἱππεῦσιν. ἐμβαλὼν δὲ εἰς χώραν τραχύτητι χαλεπὴν καὶ ὁμιχλώδη καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ σπόρου καρπῶν ἄγονον, ἀπίοις δὲ καὶ μήλοις καὶ τοιούτοις ἄλλοις ἀκροδρύοις τρέφουσαν ἀνθρώπους πολεμικοὺς καὶ θυμοειδεῖς, ἔλαθε μεγάλαις ἀπο-
2 ρίαις καὶ κινδύνοις περιπεσών. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐδώδιμον ἦν λαμβάνειν οὐδὲ ἔξωθεν ἐπεισάγεσθαι, τὰ δὲ ὑποζύγια μόνον κατέκοπτον, ὥστε ὄνου κεφαλὴν μόλις δραχμῶν ἑξήκοντα ὤνιον εἶναι. τὸ δὲ βασιλικὸν δεῖπνον ἐξελείφθη· καὶ τῶν ἵππων ὀλίγοι περιῆσαν ἔτι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐσθίοντες κατανηλώκεσαν.

Ἐνταῦθα Τηρίβαζος, ἀνὴρ πολλάκις μὲν ἐν πρώτῃ δι' ἀνδραγαθίαν τάξει γενόμενος, πολλάκις δὲ ἀπορριφεὶς διὰ κουφότητα καὶ τότε ταπεινὰ πράττων καὶ περιορώμενος, ἔσωσε βασιλέα καὶ
3 τὸν στρατόν. ὄντων γὰρ δυεῖν ἐν τοῖς Καδουσίοις βασιλέων, ἑκατέρου δὲ χωρὶς στρατοπεδεύοντος, ἐντυχὼν τῷ Ἀρτοξέρξῃ καὶ φράσας περὶ ὧν διενοεῖτο πράττειν, ἐβάδιζεν αὐτὸς πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον τῶν Καδουσίων, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον κρύφα τὸν υἱὸν ἔπεμπεν. ἐξηπάτα δὲ ἑκάτερον ἑκάτερος, λέγων ὡς ἅτερος ἐπιπρεσβεύεται πρὸς τὸν Ἀρτοξέρξην φιλίαν μόνῳ πράττων ἑαυτῷ καὶ συμμαχίαν· οὐκοῦν, εἰ σωφρονεῖ, χρῆναι πρότερον ἐντυγχάνειν ἐκείνῳ, αὐτὸν δὲ συμπράξειν ἅπαντα.
4 τούτοις ἐπείσθησαν ἀμφότεροι, καὶ φθάνειν ἀλλή-

XXIV. In the war which Pharnabazus and Iphicrates conducted for him against Egypt he was unsuccessful, owing to the dissensions of these commanders; against the Cadusians, therefore, he made an expedition in person, with three hundred thousand footmen and ten thousand horse. But the country which he penetrated was rough and hard to traverse, abounded in mists, and produced no grains, although its pears and apples and other such tree-fruits supported a warlike and courageous population. Unawares, therefore, he became involved in great distress and peril. For no food was to be got in the country or imported from outside, and they could only butcher their beasts of burden, so that an ass's head was scarcely to be bought for sixty drachmas. Moreover, the royal banquets were abandoned; and of their horses only a few were left, the rest having been consumed for food.

Here it was that Teribazus, a man whose bravery often set him in a leading place, but whose levity as often cast him down, so that at this time he was in disgrace and overlooked, saved the king and his army. For the Cadusians had two kings, and each of them encamped separately. So Teribazus, after an interview with Artaxerxes in which he told him what he purposed to do, went himself to one of the Cadusian kings, and sent his son secretly to the other. Each envoy, then, deceived his man, telling him that the other king was sending an embassy to Artaxerxes to secure friendship and alliance for himself alone: he should, therefore, if he were wise, have an interview with Artaxerxes before the other did, and he himself would help him all he could. Both kings were persuaded by this argument, and

λους νομίζοντες ὁ μὲν τῷ Τηριβάζῳ συνέπεμψε πρέσβεις, ὁ δὲ τῷ παιδὶ τοῦ Τηριβάζου. διατριβῆς δὲ γενομένης ὑποψίαι καὶ διαβολαὶ κατὰ τοῦ Τηριβάζου τῷ Ἀρτοξέρξῃ προσέπιπτον· αὐτὸς δὲ δυσθύμως εἶχε καὶ μετενόει πιστεύσας τῷ Τηριβάζῳ, καὶ τοῖς φθονοῦσιν ἐγκαλεῖν παρεῖχεν.
5 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἧκεν ὁ Τηρίβαζος, ἧκε δὲ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ 1024
τοὺς Καδουσίους ἄγοντες, ἐγένοντο δὲ σπονδαὶ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους καὶ εἰρήνη, μέγας ὢν ὁ Τηρίβαζος ἤδη καὶ λαμπρὸς ἀνεζεύγνυε μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐπιδεικνυμένου πᾶσαν τὴν δειλίαν καὶ τὴν μαλακίαν οὐ τρυφῆς καὶ πολυτελείας, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν, ἔκγονον οὖσαν, ἀλλὰ μοχθηρᾶς φύσεως καὶ ἀγεννοῦς καὶ δόξαις πονηραῖς
6 ἑπομένης. οὔτε γὰρ χρυσὸς οὔτε κάνδυς οὔτε ὁ τῶν μυρίων καὶ δισχιλίων ταλάντων περικείμενος ἀεὶ τῷ βασιλέως σώματι κόσμος ἐκεῖνον ἀπεκώλυε πονεῖν καὶ ταλαιπωρεῖν, ὥσπερ οἱ τυχόντες, ἀλλὰ τήν τε φαρέτραν ἐνημμένος καὶ τὴν πέλτην φέρων αὐτὸς ἐβάδιζε πρῶτος ὁδοὺς ὀρεινὰς καὶ προσάντεις, ἀπολιπὼν τὸν ἵππον, ὥστε τοὺς ἄλλους πτεροῦσθαι καὶ συνεπικουφίζεσθαι τὴν ἐκείνου προθυμίαν καὶ ῥώμην ὁρῶντας· καὶ γὰρ διακοσίων καὶ πλειόνων σταδίων κατήνυεν ἡμέρας ἑκάστης πορείαν.

XXV. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς σταθμὸν κατέβη βασιλικὸν παραδείσους ἔχοντα θαυμαστοὺς καὶ κεκοσμημένους διαπρεπῶς ἐν τῷ πέριξ ἀδένδρῳ καὶ ψιλῷ χωρίῳ, κρύους ὄντος, ἐπέτρεψε τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου ξυλίζεσθαι τὰ δένδρα κόπτοντας,
2 μήτε πεύκης μήτε κυπαρίττου φειδομένους. ὀκ-

each thinking that he was anticipating the other, one sent his envoys along with Teribazus, and the other with the son of Teribazus. But matters were delayed, and suspicions and calumnies against Teribazus came to the ears of Artaxerxes; he himself also was ill at ease, and repented him of having put confidence in Teribazus, and gave occasion to his rivals to malign him. But at last Teribazus came, and his son came too, both bringing their Cadusian envoys, and a peace was ratified with both kings; whereupon Teribazus, now a great and splendid personage, set out for home with the king. And the king now made it plain that cowardice and effeminacy are not always due to luxury and extravagance, as most people suppose, but to a base and ignoble nature under the sway of evil doctrines. For neither gold nor robe of state nor the twelve thousand talents' worth of adornment which always enveloped the person of the king prevented him from undergoing toils and hardships like an ordinary soldier; nay, with his quiver girt upon him and his shield on his arm he marched in person at the head of his troops, over precipitous mountain roads, abandoning his horse, so that the rest of the army had wings given them and felt their burdens lightened when they saw his ardour and vigour; for he made daily marches of two hundred furlongs and more.

XXV. At length he came down to a royal halting-place which had admirable parks in elaborate cultivation, although the region round about was bare and treeless; and since it was cold, he gave permission to his soldiers to cut the trees of the park for wood, sparing neither pine nor cypress. And when they

νούντων δὲ καὶ φειδομένων διὰ τὰ κάλλη καὶ τὰ
μεγέθη, λαβὼν πέλεκυν αὐτὸς ὅπερ ἦν μέγιστον
καὶ κάλλιστον τῶν φυτῶν ἔκοψεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου
ξυλιζόμενοι καὶ πολλὰ πυρὰ ποιοῦντες εὐμαρῶς
ἐνυκτέρευσαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς
ἀποβαλὼν ἄνδρας, ἵππους δὲ ὁμοῦ τι πάντας
3 ἐπανῆλθε. καὶ δόξας καταφρονεῖσθαι διὰ τὴν
ἀτυχίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπότευξιν τῆς στρατείας, ἐν
ὑποψίαις εἶχε τοὺς πρώτους· καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν
ἀνῄρει δι' ὀργήν, πλείονας δὲ φοβούμενος. ἡ γὰρ
δειλία φονικώτατόν ἐστιν ἐν ταῖς τυραννίσιν,
ἵλεων δὲ καὶ πρᾷον καὶ ἀνύποπτον ἡ θαρραλεό-
της. διὸ καὶ τῶν θηρίων τὰ ἀτιθάσευτα καὶ
δυσεξημέρωτα ψοφοδεῆ καὶ δειλά, τὰ δὲ γενναῖα
πιστεύοντα μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ θαρρεῖν οὐ φεύγει τὰς
φιλοφροσύνας.

XXVI. Ὁ δὲ Ἀρτοξέρξης ἤδη πρεσβύτερος ὢν
ᾐσθάνετο τοὺς υἱοὺς ἀγῶνα περὶ τῆς βασιλείας
ἐν τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς δυνατοῖς ἔχοντας. οἱ μὲν
γὰρ εὐγνώμονες ἠξίουν, ὡς ἔλαβεν αὐτός, οὕτως
ἀπολιπεῖν πρεσβεῖα Δαρείῳ τὴν ἀρχήν. ὁ δὲ
νεώτατος Ὦχος ὀξὺς ὢν καὶ βίαιος εἶχε μὲν καὶ
τῶν περὶ τὸ βασίλειον οὐκ ὀλίγους σπουδαστάς,
ἤλπιζε δὲ μάλιστα κατεργάσεσθαι τὸν πατέρα
2 διὰ τῆς Ἀτόσσης. ἐκείνην γὰρ ἐθεράπευεν ὡς
γαμησομένην καὶ συμβασιλεύσουσαν αὐτῷ μετὰ
τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτήν. ἦν δὲ λόγος ὅτι καὶ
ζῶντος ἐλάνθανεν αὐτῇ πλησιάζων. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο

hesitated and were inclined to spare the trees on account of their great size and beauty, he took an axe himself and cut down the largest and most beautiful tree. After this the men provided themselves with wood, and making many fires, passed the night in comfort. Nevertheless, he lost many and brave men, and almost all his horses before he reached home. And now, thinking that his subjects despised him because of the disastrous failure of his expedition, he was suspicious of his chief men; many of these he put to death in anger, and more out of fear. For it is cowardly fear in a tyrant that leads to most bloodshed; but bold confidence makes him gracious and mild and unsuspicious. So also among wild beasts, those that are refractory and hardest to tame are timorous and fearful, whereas the nobler sorts are led by their courage to put more confidence in men, and do not reject friendly advances.

XXVI. But Artaxerxes, being now advanced in years, perceived that his sons were forming rival parties among his friends and chief men with reference to the royal succession. For the conservatives thought it right that, as he himself had received the royal power by virtue of seniority, in like manner he should leave it to Dareius. But his youngest son, Ochus, who was of an impetuous and violent disposition, not only had many adherents among the courtiers, but hoped for most success in winning over his father through the aid of Atossa. For he sought to gain Atossa's favour by promising that she should be his wife and share the throne with him after the death of his father. And there was a report that even while his father was alive Ochus had secret relations with Atossa. But Artaxerxes

μὲν ἠγνόησεν ὁ Ἀρτοξέρξης· ταχὺ δὲ βουλόμενος
ἐκκροῦσαι τῆς ἐλπίδος τὸν Ὦχον, ὅπως μὴ τὰ
αὐτὰ Κύρῳ τολμήσαντος αὐτοῦ πόλεμοι καὶ
ἀγῶνες αὖθις καταλάβωσι τὴν βασιλείαν, ἀνέ-
δειξε τὸν Δαρεῖον βασιλέα πεντηκοστὸν ἔτος
γεγονότα, καὶ τὴν καλουμένην κίταριν ὀρθὴν
3 φέρειν ἔδωκε. νόμου δὲ ὄντος ἐν Πέρσαις δωρεὰν
αἰτεῖν τὸν ἀναδειχθέντα καὶ διδόναι τὸν ἀναδεί-
ξαντα πᾶν τὸ αἰτηθέν, ἄνπερ ᾖ δυνατόν, ᾔτησεν
Ἀσπασίαν ὁ Δαρεῖος τὴν μάλιστα σπουδασθεῖ-
σαν ὑπὸ Κύρου, τότε δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ παλλακευ-
ομένην. ἦν δὲ Φωκαῒς τὸ γένος ἀπ' Ἰωνίας,
4 ἐλευθέρων γονέων καὶ τεθραμμένη κοσμίως. ἐπεὶ
δὲ Κύρου δειπνοῦντος εἰσήχθη μεθ' ἑτέρων γυναι-
κῶν, αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι παρακαθεζόμεναι προσπαί-
ζοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἁπτομένου καὶ σκώπτοντος οὐκ
ἀηδῶς ἐνεδέχοντο τὰς φιλοφροσύνας, ἐκείνη δὲ
παρὰ τὴν κλίνην εἱστήκει σιωπῇ καὶ Κύρου
καλοῦντος οὐχ ὑπήκουε· βουλομένων δὲ προσ-
άγειν τῶν κατευναστῶν, "Οἰμώξεται μέντοι τού- 1025
των," εἶπεν, "ὃς ἂν ἐμοὶ προσαγάγῃ τὰς χεῖρας."
ἔδοξεν οὖν ἄχαρις τοῖς παροῦσιν εἶναι καὶ ἄγροι-
5 κος. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἡσθεὶς ἐγέλασε, καὶ εἶπε πρὸς
τὸν ἀγαγόντα τὰς γυναῖκας, "Ἆρα ἤδη συνορᾷς
ὅτι μοι μόνην ταύτην ἐλευθέραν καὶ ἀδιάφθορον
ἥκεις κομίζων;" ἐκ δὲ τούτου προσεῖχεν ἀρξά-
μενος αὐτῇ, καὶ μάλιστα πασῶν ἔστερξε καὶ
σοφὴν προσηγόρευσεν. ἑάλω δὲ Κύρου πεσόντος
ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ διαρπαζομένου τοῦ στρατοπέδου.

XXVII. Ταύτην ὁ Δαρεῖος αἰτήσας ἠνίασε τὸν

[1] Cf. Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 10. 2; Plutarch, *Pericles*, xxiv. 7.

was ignorant of this; and wishing to shatter at once the hopes of Ochus, that he might not venture upon the same course as Cyrus and so involve the kingdom anew in wars and contests, he proclaimed Dareius, then fifty years of age, his successor to the throne, and gave him permission to wear the upright "kitanis," as the tiara was called. Now, there was a custom among the Persians that the one appointed to the royal succession should ask a boon, and that the one who appointed him should give whatever was asked, if it was within his power. Accordingly, Dareius asked for Aspasia, who had been the special favourite of Cyrus, and was then a concubine of the king. She was a native of Phocaea, in Ionia, born of free parents, and fittingly educated. Once when Cyrus was at supper she was led in to him along with other women. The rest of the women took the seats given them, and when Cyrus proceeded to sport and dally and jest with them, showed no displeasure at his friendly advances. But Aspasia stood by her couch in silence, and would not obey when Cyrus called her; and when his chamberlains would have led her to him, she said: "Verily, whosoever lays his hands upon me shall rue the day." The guests therefore thought her a graceless and rude creature. But Cyrus was delighted, and laughed, and said to the man who had brought the women: "Dost thou not see at once that this is the only free and unperverted woman thou hast brought me?" From this time on he was devoted to her, and loved her above all women, and called her The Wise. She was taken prisoner when Cyrus fell in the battle at Cunaxa and his camp was plundered.[1]

XXVII. This was the woman for whom Dareius

πατέρα· δύσζηλα γὰρ τὰ βαρβαρικὰ δεινῶς περὶ τὸ ἀκόλαστον, ὥστε μὴ μόνον τὸν προσελθόντα καὶ θιγόντα παλλακῆς βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἐν πορείᾳ προεξελθόντα καὶ διεξελάσαντα τὰς ἁμάξας ἐφ' αἷς κομίζονται, θανάτῳ κολάζεσθαι.
2 καίτοι τὴν μὲν Ἄτοσσαν εἶχεν ἔρωτι ποιησάμενος γυναῖκα παρὰ τὸν νόμον, ἑξήκοντα δὲ καὶ τριακόσιαι παρετρέφοντο κάλλει διαφέρουσαι παλλακίδες. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰτηθεὶς ἐκείνην ἐλευθέραν ἔφησεν εἶναι καὶ λαμβάνειν ἐκέλευσε βουλομένην, ἄκουσαν δὲ μὴ βιάζεσθαι. μεταπεμφθείσης δὲ τῆς Ἀσπασίας καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδας τοῦ βασιλέως ἑλομένης τὸν Δαρεῖον, ἔδωκε μὲν ὑπ' ἀνάλκης τοῦ νόμου, δοὺς δὲ ὀλίγον ὕστερον
3 ἀφείλετο. τῆς γὰρ Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς ἐν Ἐκβατάνοις, ἣν Ἀναῖτιν καλοῦσιν, ἱέρειαν ἀνέδειξεν αὐτήν, ὅπως ἁγνὴ διάγῃ τὸν ἐπίλοιπον βίον, οἰόμενος οὐ χαλεπήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετρίαν τινὰ καὶ παιδιᾷ μεμιγμένην ταύτην λήψεσθαι δίκην παρὰ τοῦ παιδός. ὁ δ' ἤνεγκεν οὐ μετρίως, εἴτ' ἔρωτι τῆς Ἀσπασίας περιπαθὴς γεγονώς, εἴτε ὑβρίσθαι καὶ κεχλευάσθαι νομίζων ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός.

4 Αἰσθόμενος δ' αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχοντα Τηρίβαζος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξετράχυνεν, ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνου συνιδὼν τὰ καθ' αὑτόν. ἦν δὲ τοιαῦτα. πλειόνων οὐσῶν βασιλεῖ θυγατέρων ὡμολόγησε Φαρναβάζῳ μὲν Ἀπάμαν δώσειν γυναῖκα, Ῥοδογούνην δὲ Ὀρόντῃ,

asked, and he gave offence thereby to his father; for the Barbarian folk are terribly jealous in all that pertains to the pleasures of love, so that it is death for a man, not only to come up and touch one of the royal concubines, but even in journeying to go along past the waggons on which they are conveyed. And yet there was Atossa, whom the king passionately loved and had made his wife contrary to the law, and he kept three hundred and sixty concubines also, who were of surpassing beauty. However, since he had been asked for Aspasia, he said that she was a free woman, and bade his son take her if she was willing, but not to constrain her against her wishes. So Aspasia was summoned, and contrary to the hopes of the king, chose Dareius. And the king gave her to Dareius under constraint of the custom that prevailed, but a little while after he had given her, he took her away again. That is, he appointed her a priestess of the Artemis of Ecbatana, who bears the name of Anaïtis, in order that she might remain chaste for the rest of her life, thinking that in this way he would inflict a punishment upon his son which was not grievous, but actually quite within bounds and tinctured with pleasantry. The resentment of Dareius, however, knew no bounds, either because he was deeply stirred by his passion for Aspasia, or because he thought that he had been insulted and mocked by his father.

And now Teribazus, who became aware of the prince's feelings, sought to embitter him still more, finding in his grievance a counterpart of his own, which was as follows. The king had several daughters, and promised to give Apama in marriage to Pharnabazus, Rhodogune to Orontes, and Amestris

Τηριβάζῳ δὲ Ἄμηστριν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις
ἔδωκε, Τηρίβαζον δὲ ἐψεύσατο γήμας αὐτὸς τὴν
Ἄμηστριν, ἀντ' ἐκείνης δὲ τῷ Τηριβάζῳ τὴν
5 νεωτάτην Ἄτοσσαν ἐνεγύησεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ταύ-
την ἐρασθεὶς ἔγημεν, ὡς εἴρηται, παντάπασι
δυσμενῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Τηρίβαζος ἔσχεν, οὐδὲ
ἄλλως στάσιμος ὢν τὸ ἦθος, ἀλλ' ἀνώμαλος καὶ
παράφορος. διὸ καὶ νῦν μὲν εὐημερῶν ὅμοια
τοῖς πρώτοις, νῦν δὲ προσκρούων καὶ σκορακιζό-
μενος οὐδεμίαν ἔφερεν ἐμμελῶς μεταβολήν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τιμώμενος ἦν ἐπαχθὴς ὑπὸ χαυνότητος, καὶ
τὸ κολουόμενον οὐ ταπεινὸν οὐδὲ ἡσυχαῖον, ἀλλὰ
τραχὺ καὶ ἀγέρωχον εἶχε.

XXVIII. Πῦρ οὖν ἐπὶ πῦρ ἐγένετο τῷ νεανίσκῳ
προσκείμενος ὁ Τηρίβαζος ἀεὶ καὶ λέγων ὡς οὐδὲν
ὀνίνησιν ἡ κίταρις ἑστῶσα περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τοὺς
ὑφ' αὑτῶν μὴ ζητοῦντας ὀρθοῦσθαι τοῖς πράγ-
μασι, κἀκεῖνον ἀβέλτερα φρονεῖν, εἰ, τοῦ μὲν
ἀδελφοῦ διὰ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἐνδυομένου τοῖς
πράγμασι, τοῦ δὲ πατρὸς οὕτως ἔμπληκτον ἦθος
καὶ ἀβέβαιον ἔχοντος, οἴεται βέβαιον αὐτῷ τὴν
2 διαδοχὴν ὑπάρχειν. ὁ γὰρ Ἑλληνικοῦ χάριν
γυναίου τὸν ἄψευστον ἐν Πέρσαις ψευσάμενος
νόμον οὐ δή που πιστός ἐστι τὰς περὶ τῶν μεγί-
στων ὁμολογίας ἐμπεδώσειν. οὐ ταὐτὸ δ' εἶναι
τὸ μὴ τυχεῖν Ὤχῳ κἀκείνῳ τὸ στέρεσθαι τῆς
βασιλείας· Ὦχον μὲν γὰρ οὐδένα κωλύσειν
ἰδιώτην βιοῦν μακαρίως, ἐκείνῳ δ' ἀποδεδειγμένῳ
βασιλεῖ βασιλεύειν ἀνάγκην ἢ μηδὲ ζῆν εἶναι.

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[1] Chap. xxiii. 2 ff. [2] Cf. chap. xxvi. 2.

to Teribazus. He kept his promise to the other two, but broke his word to Teribazus and married Amestris himself, betrothing in her stead to Teribazus his youngest daughter, Atossa. But soon he fell enamoured of Atossa also and married her, as has been said,[1] and then Teribazus became a downright foe to him. Teribazus was at no time of a stable disposition, but uneven and precipitate. And so, when he would be at one time in highest favour, and at another would find himself in disgrace and spurned aside, he could not bear either change of fortune with equanimity, but if he was held in honour his vanity made him offensive, and when he fell from favour he was not humble or quiet, but harsh and ferocious.

XXVIII. Accordingly, it was adding fire to fire when Teribazus attached himself to the young prince and was forever telling him that the tiara standing upright on the head [2] was of no use to those who did not seek by their own efforts to stand upright in affairs of state, and that he was very foolish if, when his brother was insinuating himself into affairs of state by way of the harem, and his father was of a nature so fickle and insecure, he could suppose that the succession to the throne was securely his. Surely he whom regard for a Greek courtesan had led to violate the inviolable custom of the Persians, could not be trusted to abide by his agreements in the most important matters. Moreover, he said it was not the same thing for Ochus not to get the kingdom and for Dareius to be deprived of it; for no one would hinder Ochus from living happily in private station, but Dareius had been declared king, and must needs be king or not live at all.

3 Καθόλου μὲν οὖν ἴσως, τὸ Σοφόκλειον,

ταχεῖα πειθὼ τῶν κακῶν ὁδοιπορεῖ·

λεία γάρ τις ἡ πορεία καὶ κατάντης ἐπὶ τὸ βουλό-
μενον. βούλονται δὲ οἱ πλεῖστοι τὰ φαῦλα δι'
ἀπειρίαν τῶν καλῶν καὶ ἄγνοιαν· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ 1026
τὸ μέγεθος τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὸν Ὦχον
τοῦ Δαρείου δέος ὑπόθεσιν τῷ Τηριβάζῳ παρ-
εῖχε· Κυπρογένεια δ' οὐ πάμπαν ἀναίτιος, ἡ
τῆς Ἀσπασίας ἀφαίρεσις.

XXIX. Ἐπέδωκεν οὖν ἑαυτὸν τῷ Τηριβάζῳ·
καὶ πολλῶν ἤδη συνισταμένων, εὐνοῦχος ἐδήλωσε
τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ τὸν τρόπον, εἰδὼς
ἀκριβῶς ὅτι νυκτὸς ἐγνώκασιν ἐν τῷ θαλάμῳ
κατακείμενον ἀναιρεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπεισελθόντες. ἀκού-
σαντι δὲ τῷ Ἀρτοξέρξῃ καὶ τὸ παριδεῖν κίνδυνον
τηλικοῦτον, ἀμελήσαντα τῆς διαβολῆς, δεινὸν
ἐδόκει, καὶ τὸ πιστεῦσαι μηδενὸς ἐλέγχου γενο-
2 μένου δεινότερον. οὕτως οὖν ἐποίει· τὸν μὲν
εὐνοῦχον ἐκείνοις ἐκέλευσε παρεῖναι καὶ παρ-
ακολουθεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦ θαλάμου τὸν ὄπισθεν
τῆς κλίνης τοῖχον ἐκκόψας καὶ θυρώσας κατ-
εκάλυψεν αὐλαίᾳ τὰς θύρας. ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς
ὥρας καὶ φράσαντος τοῦ εὐνούχου τὸν καιρόν,
ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης ὑπέμεινε καὶ οὐκ ἐξανέστη πρό-
τερον ἢ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐρχομένων τὰ πρόσωπα
3 κατιδεῖν καὶ γνωρίσαι σαφῶς ἕκαστον. ὡς δὲ
εἶδεν ἐσπασμένους τὰ ἐγχειρίδια καὶ προσφερο-
μένους, ταχὺ τὴν αὐλαίαν ὑπολαβὼν ἀνεχώρησεν

[1] From an unknown play, Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*[2], p. 315.

Now, perhaps it is generally true, as Sophocles says,[1] that—

"Swiftly doth persuasion unto evil conduct make its way";

for smooth and downward sloping is the passage to what a man desires, and most men desire the bad through inexperience and ignorance of the good. However, it was the greatness of the empire and the fear which Dareius felt towards Ochus that paved the way for Teribazus although, since Aspasia had been taken away, the Cyprus-born goddess of love was not altogether without influence in the case.

XXIX. Accordingly, Dareius put himself in the hands of Teribazus; and presently, when many were in the conspiracy, an eunuch made known to the king the plot and the manner of it, having accurate knowledge that the conspirators had resolved to enter the king's chamber by night and kill him in his bed. When Artaxerxes heard the eunuch's story, he thought it a grave matter to neglect the information and ignore so great a peril, and a graver still to believe it without any proof. He therefore acted on this wise. He charged the eunuch to attend closely upon the conspirators; meanwhile he himself cut away the wall of his chamber behind the bed, put a doorway there, and covered the door with a hanging. Then, when the appointed hour was at hand and the eunuch told him the exact time, he kept his bed and did not rise from it until he saw the faces of his assailants and recognised each man clearly. But when he saw them advancing upon him with drawn swords, he quickly drew aside the

εἰς τὸ ἐντὸς οἴκημα καὶ τὰς θύρας ἐπήρραξε
κράζων. ὀφθέντες οὖν οἱ σφαγεῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ,
πράξαντες δὲ μηθέν, ἀπεχώρουν φυγῇ διὰ θυρῶν,
καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Τηρίβαζον ἐκέλευον ἀποχωρεῖν
4 ὡς φανεροὺς γεγονότας. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι διαλυ-
θέντες ἔφυγον· ὁ δὲ Τηρίβαζος συλλαμβανόμενος
πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινε τῶν βασιλέως δορυφόρων καὶ
μόγις ἀκοντίῳ πληγεὶς πόρρωθεν ἔπεσε. τῷ δὲ
Δαρείῳ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἀναχθέντι καθίσας τοὺς
βασιλείους δικαστάς, οὐ παρὼν αὐτός, ἀλλ'
ἑτέρων κατηγορησάντων, ἐκέλευσεν ὑπηρέτας τὴν
ἑκάστου γραψαμένους ἀπόφασιν ὡς αὐτὸν ἐπανε-
5 νεγκεῖν. ἀποφηναμένων δὲ πάντων ὁμοίως καὶ
καταγνόντων τοῦ Δαρείου θάνατον, οἱ μὲν ὑπηρέ-
ται συλλαβόντες αὐτὸν εἰς οἴκημα πλησίον ἀπ-
ήγαγον, ὁ δὲ δήμιος κληθεὶς ἧκε μὲν ξυρὸν ἔχων,
ᾧ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποτέμνουσι τῶν κολαζομένων,
ἰδὼν δὲ τὸν Δαρεῖον ἐξεπλάγη καὶ ἀνεχώρει πρὸς
τὰς θύρας ἀποβλέπων, ὡς οὐ δυνησόμενος οὐδὲ
6 τολμήσων αὐτόχειρ γενέσθαι βασιλέως. ἔξωθεν
δὲ τῶν δικαστῶν ἀπειλούντων καὶ διακελευομένων
ἀναστρέψας καὶ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ χειρὶ δραξάμενος τῆς
κόμης αὐτοῦ καὶ καταγαγὼν ἀπέτεμε τῷ ξυρῷ
τὸν τράχηλον.

Ἔνιοι δέ φασι τὴν κρίσιν γενέσθαι βασιλέως
αὐτοῦ παρόντος, τὸν δὲ Δαρεῖον, ὡς κατελαμ-
βάνετο τοῖς ἐλέγχοις, ἐπὶ στόμα πεσόντα δεῖσθαι
7 καὶ ἱκετεύειν· τὸν δὲ ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἀναστάντα καὶ
σπασάμενον τὸν ἀκινάκην τύπτειν ἕως ἀπέκτεινεν·

hanging, retired into the inner chamber, closed the door with a slam, and raised a cry. The murderers accordingly, having been seen by the king, and having accomplished nothing, fled back through the door by which they had come, and told Teribazus and his friends to be off since their plot was known. The rest, then, were dispersed and fled; but Teribazus slew many of the king's guards as they sought to arrest him, and at last was smitten by a spear at long range, and fell. Dareius, together with his children, was brought to the king, who consigned him to the royal judges for trial. The king was not present in person at the trial, but others brought in the indictment. However, the king ordered clerks to take down in writing the opinion of each judge and bring them all to him. All the judges were of one opinion and condemned Dareius to death, whereupon the servants of the king seized him and led him away into a chamber near by, whither the executioner was summoned. The executioner came, with a sharp knife in his hand, wherewith the heads of condemned persons are cut off; but when he saw Dareius, he was confounded, and retired towards the door with averted gaze, declaring that he could not and would not take the life of a king. But since the judges outside the door plied him with threats and commands, he turned back, and with one hand clutching Dareius by the hair, dragged him to the ground, and cut off his head with the knife.

Some say, however, that the trial was held in the presence of the king, and that Dareius, when he was overwhelmed by the proofs, fell upon his face and begged and sued for mercy; but Artaxerxes rose up in anger, drew his scimitar, and smote him till he

εἶτα εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν προελθόντα τὸν Ἥλιον προσ-
κυνῆσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν· "Εὐφραίνεσθε ἀπιόντες, ὦ
Πέρσαι, καὶ λέγετε τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅτι τοῖς ἄθεσμα
καὶ παράνομα διανοηθεῖσιν ὁ μέγας Ὠρομάζης
δίκην ἐπιτέθεικεν."

XXX. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπιβουλὴ τοιοῦτον ἔσχε
τέλος. ὁ δὲ Ὦχος ἤδη μὲν ἦν ταῖς ἐλπίσι λαμ-
πρὸς ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀτόσσης ἐπαιρόμενος, ἔτι δὲ ἐφο-
βεῖτο τῶν μὲν γνησίων τὸν ὑπόλοιπον Ἀριάσπην,
τῶν δὲ νόθων Ἀρσάμην. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἀριάσπης
οὐ διὰ τὸ πρεσβύτερος εἶναι τοῦ Ὤχου, πρᾶος
δὲ καὶ ἁπλοῦς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος, ἠξιοῦτο βασι-
λεύειν ὑπὸ τῶν Περσῶν· ὁ δὲ Ἀρσάμης καὶ νοῦν
ἔχειν ἐδόκει καὶ μάλιστα τῷ πατρὶ προσφιλὴς
2 ὢν οὐκ ἐλάνθανε τὸν Ὦχον. ἐπιβουλεύων οὖν
ἀμφοτέροις καὶ δολερὸς ὢν ὁμοῦ καὶ φονικὸς
ἐχρήσατο τῇ μὲν ὠμότητι τῆς φύσεως πρὸς τὸν
Ἀρσάμην, τῇ δὲ κακουργίᾳ καὶ δεινότητι πρὸς
τὸν Ἀριάσπην. ὑπέπεμψε γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐ-
νούχους καὶ φίλους βασιλέως ἀπειλάς τινας ἀεὶ
καὶ λόγους φοβεροὺς ἀπαγγέλλοντας, ὡς τοῦ
πατρὸς ἐγνωκότος ἀποκτιννύειν αὐτὸν ὠμῶς καὶ
3 ἐφυβρίστως. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα καθ' ἡμέραν ἐκφέρειν
δοκοῦντες ὡς ἀπόρρητα, καὶ τὰ μὲν μέλλειν, τὰ
δὲ ὅσον οὔπω πράσσειν βασιλέα λέγοντες, οὕτως 1027
ἐξέπληξαν τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ τοσαύτην ἐνέβαλον
πτοίαν αὐτῷ καὶ ταραχὴν καὶ δυσθυμίαν εἰς τοὺς
λογισμούς, ὥστε φάρμακον σκευάσαντα τῶν θανα-
4 σίμων καὶ πιόντα τοῦ ζῆν ἀπαλλαγῆναι. πυθό-
μενος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν τρόπον τῆς τελευτῆς,
ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἀπέκλαυσε, τὴν δ' αἰτίαν ὑπώπτευεν.
ἐλέγχειν δὲ καὶ ζητεῖν ἐξαδυνατῶν διὰ γῆρας ἔτι

had killed him; then, going forth into court, he made obeisance to the sun and said: "Depart in joy and peace, ye Persians, and say to all whom ye meet that those who contrived impious and unlawful things have been punished by great Oromasdes."

XXX. Such, then, was the end of the conspiracy. And now Ochus was sanguine in the hopes with which Atossa inspired him, but he was still afraid of Ariaspes, the only legitimate son of the king remaining, and also of Arsames among the illegitimate sons. For Ariaspes, not because he was older than Ochus, but because he was mild and straightforward and humane, was deemed by the Persians worthy to be their king; Arsames, however, was thought to have wisdom, and the fact that he was especially dear to his father was not unknown to Ochus. Accordingly, he plotted against the lives of both, and being at once wily and bloody-minded, he brought the cruelty of his nature into play against Arsames, but his villainy and craft against Ariaspes. For he secretly sent to Ariaspes eunuchs and friends of the king, who constantly brought him word of sundry threatening and terrifying utterances implying that his father had determined to put him to a cruel and shameful death. Since they pretended that these daily reports of theirs were secrets of state, and declared, now that the king was delaying in the matter, and now that he was on the point of acting, they so terrified the prince, and filled his mind with so great trepidation, confusion, and despair, that he drank a deadly poison which he had prepared, and thus rid himself of life. When the king was informed of the manner of his death, he bewailed his son. He also suspected what had caused his death, but being

μᾶλλον ἠσπάζετο τὸν Ἀρσάμην, καὶ δῆλος ἦν μάλιστα πιστεύων ἐκείνῳ καὶ παρρησιαζόμενος. ὅθεν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ὦχον οὐκ ἀνεβάλοντο τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἀλλ' Ἀρπάτην υἱὸν Τηριβάζου παρασκευάσαντες ἀπέκτειναν δι' ἐκείνου τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

5 ἦν μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ ῥοπῆς μικρᾶς ὁ Ἀρτοξέρξης διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἤδη τότε· προσπεσόντος δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ περὶ τὸν Ἀρσάμην πάθους οὐδὲ ὀλίγον ἀντέσχεν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ὑπὸ λύπης καὶ δυσθυμίας ἀπεσβέσθη, βιώσας μὲν ἐνενήκοντα καὶ τέσσαρα ἔτη, βασιλεύσας δὲ δύο καὶ ἑξήκοντα, δόξας δὲ πρᾷος εἶναι καὶ φιλυπήκοος οὐχ ἥκιστα διὰ τὸν υἱὸν Ὦχον ὠμότητι καὶ μιαιφονίᾳ πάντας ὑπερβαλόμενον.

unable by reason of his age to search out and convict the guilty one, he was still more well-affectioned towards Arsames, and clearly made him his chief support and confidant. Wherefore Ochus would not postpone his design, but set Arpates, a son of Teribazus, to the task and by his hand slew the prince. Now Artaxerxes, by reason of his age, was already hovering between life and death; and when the sad fate of Arsames came to his ears, he could not hold out even a little while, but straightway expired of grief and despair. He had lived ninety-four years, and had been king sixty-two, and had the reputation of being gentle and fond of his subjects; though this was chiefly due to his son Ochus, who surpassed all men in cruelty and blood-guiltiness.

GALBA

ΓΑΛΒΑΣ

I. Ὁ μὲν Ἀθηναῖος Ἰφικράτης τὸν μισθοφόρον ἠξίου στρατιώτην καὶ φιλόπλουτον εἶναι καὶ φιλήδονον, ὅπως ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις χορηγίαν ἐπιζητῶν ἀγωνίζηται παραβολώτερον, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι, καθάπερ ἐρρωμένον σῶμα, τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἀξιοῦσιν ἰδίᾳ μηδέποτε χρώμενον ὁρμῇ συγκινεῖσθαι 1053
2 τῇ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. διὸ καὶ Παῦλον Αἰμίλιον λέγουσι τὴν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ δύναμιν παραλαβόντα λαλιᾶς καὶ περιεργίας, οἷον διαστρατηγοῦσαν, ἀνάπλεων, παρεγγυῆσαι τὴν χεῖρα ποιεῖν ἑτοίμην καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν ὀξεῖαν ἕκαστον, αὐτῷ δὲ
3 τῶν ἄλλων μελήσειν. ὁ δὲ Πλάτων οὐδὲν ἔργον ὁρῶν ἄρχοντος ἀγαθοῦ καὶ στρατηγοῦ στρατιᾶς μὴ σωφρονούσης μηδὲ ὁμοπαθούσης, ἀλλὰ τὴν πειθαρχικὴν ἀρετὴν ὁμοίως τῇ βασιλικῇ νομίζων φύσεως γενναίας καὶ τροφῆς φιλοσόφου δεῖσθαι, μάλιστα τῷ πρᾴῳ καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ τὸ θυμοειδὲς καὶ δραστήριον ἐμμελῶς ἀνακεραννυμένης, ἄλλα τε πάθη πολλὰ καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίοις συμπεσόντα μετὰ τὴν Νέρωνος τελευτὴν ἔχει μαρτύρια καὶ παραδείγματα τοῦ μηδὲν εἶναι φοβερώτερον ἀπαι-

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[1] With Plutarch's *Galba* may be compared Suetonius, *Galba*; Dion Cassius, lxiv. 1–9; Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 1–45.

GALBA[1]

I. Iphicrates the Athenian used to think that the mercenary soldier might well be fond of wealth and fond of pleasure, in order that his quest for the means to gratify his desires might lead him to fight with greater recklessness; but most people think that a body of soldiers, just like a natural body in full vigour, ought to have no initiative of its own, but should follow that of its commander. Wherefore Paulus Aemilius, as we are told, finding that the army which he had taken over in Macedonia was infected with loquacity and meddlesomeness, as though they were all generals, gave out word that each man was to have his hand ready and his sword sharp, but that he himself would look out for the rest.[2] Moreover, Plato[3] sees that a good commander or general can do nothing unless his army is amenable and loyal; and he thinks that the quality of obedience, like the quality characteristic of a king, requires a noble nature and a philosophic training, which, above all things, blends harmoniously the qualities of gentleness and humanity with those of high courage and aggressiveness. Many dire events, and particularly those which befell the Romans after the death of Nero, bear witness to this, and show plainly that an empire has nothing more fearful to

[2] See the *Aemilius*, xiii. 4.
[3] Cf. *e.g.* *Republic* 376 C.

δεύτοις χρωμένης καὶ ἀλόγοις ὁρμαῖς ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ
4 στρατιωτικῆς δυνάμεως. Δημάδης μὲν γὰρ Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτήσαντος εἴκαζε τὴν Μακεδόνων στρατιὰν ἐκτετυφλωμένῳ τῷ Κύκλωπι, πολλὰς κινουμένην ὁρῶν κινήσεις ἀτάκτους καὶ παραφόρους· τὴν δὲ Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν ὅμοια τοῖς λεγομένοις Τιτανικοῖς πάθεσι καὶ κινήμασι κατελάμβανεν, εἰς πολλὰ διασπωμένην ἅμα καὶ πολλαχόθεν αὖθις ἑαυτῇ συμπίπτουσαν, οὐχ οὕτως ὑπὸ φιλαρχίας τῶν ἀναγορευομένων αὐτοκρατόρων, ὡς φιλοπλουτίας καὶ ἀκολασίας τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ δι' ἀλλήλων ὥσπερ ἥλους τοὺς
5 ἡγεμόνας ἐκκρούοντος. καίτοι Διονύσιος Φεραῖον ἄρξαντα Θετταλῶν δέκα μῆνας, εἶτα εὐθὺς ἀναιρεθέντα, τὸν τραγικὸν ἀνεκάλει τύραννον, ἐπισκώπτων τὸ τάχος τῆς μεταβολῆς. ἡ δὲ τῶν Καισάρων ἑστία, τὸ Παλάτιον, ἐν ἐλάσσονι χρόνῳ τέσσαρας αὐτοκράτορας ὑπεδέξατο, τὸν μὲν εἰσαγόντων ὥσπερ διὰ σκηνῆς, τὸν δ' ἐξαγόντων. ἀλλ' ἦν γε παραμυθία τοῖς κακῶς πάσχουσι μία τὸ μὴ δεηθῆναι δίκης ἑτέρας ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰτίους, ἀλλ' ὁρᾶν αὐτοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν φονευομένους, πρῶτον δε καὶ δικαιότατα πάντων τὸν δελεάσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα τοσοῦτον ἐλπίζειν ἐπὶ μεταβολῇ Καίσαρος ὅσον αὐτὸς ὑπέσχετο, κάλλιστον ἔργον διαβαλὼν τῷ μισθῷ, τὴν ἀπὸ Νέρωνος ἀποστασίαν προδοσίαν γενομένην.

II. Νυμφίδιος γὰρ Σαβῖνος ὢν ἔπαρχος, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, μετὰ Τιγελλίνου τῆς αὐλῆς, ἐπεὶ τὰ Νέρωνος ἀπέγνωστο παντάπασι καὶ δῆλος ἦν

[1] An allusion to the proverb ἥλῳ ὁ ἧλος ἐκκρούεται.

show than a military force given over to untrained and unreasoning impulses. Demades, indeed, after Alexander had died, likened the Macedonian army to the blinded Cyclops, observing the many random and disorderly movements that it made; but the Roman Empire was a prey to convulsions and disasters like those caused by the Titans of mythology, being torn into many fragments, and again in many places collapsing upon itself, not so much through the ambition of those who were proclaimed emperors, as through the greed and licence of the soldiery, which drove out one commander with another as nail drives out nail.[1] And yet the Pheraean [2] who ruled Thessaly for ten months and was then promptly killed, was called the tragedy-tyrant by Dionysius, with scornful reference to the quickness of the change. But the house of the Caesars, the Palatium, in a shorter time than this received four emperors, the soldiery ushering one in and another out, as in play. But the suffering people had one consolation at least in the fact that they needed no other punishment of the authors of their sufferings, but saw them slain by one another's hands, and first and most righteously of all, the man who ensnared the soldiery and taught them to expect from the deposition of a Caesar all the good things which he promised them, thus defiling a most noble deed by the pay he offered for it, and turning the revolt from Nero into treachery.

II. It was Nymphidius Sabinus, prefect of the court guard along with Tigellinus, as I have already stated,[3] who, when Nero's case was altogether desperate, and

[2] Alexander, tyrant of Pherae. See the *Pelopidas*, xxiv.–xxxv.

[3] Probably in the lost *Life of Nero*.

*ἀποδρασόμενος εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἔπεισε τὸ στρατιω-
τικόν, ὡς μηκέτι παρόντος, ἀλλ᾽ ἤδη πεφευγότος,
2 αὐτοκράτορα Γάλβαν ἀναγορεῦσαι, καὶ δωρεὰν
ὑπέσχετο κατ᾽ ἄνδρα τοῖς αὐλικοῖς καὶ στρατη-
γικοῖς προσαγορευομένοις δραχμὰς ἑπτακισχιλίας
πεντακοσίας, τοῖς δὲ ἐκτὸς στρατευομένοις πεντή-
κοντα καὶ διακοσίας ἐπὶ χιλίαις, ὅσον ἀμήχανον
ἦν συναγαγεῖν μὴ πλείονα μυριάκις κακὰ παρα-
3 σχόντα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὧν Νέρων παρέσχε. τοῦ-* 1054
*το γὰρ εὐθὺς μὲν ἀπώλεσε Νέρωνα, μετ᾽ ὀλίγον δὲ
Γάλβαν· τὸν μὲν γὰρ ὡς ληψόμενοι προήκαντο,
τὸν δὲ μὴ λαμβάνοντες ἀπέκτειναν. εἶτα τὸν
τοσοῦτον δώσοντα ζητοῦντες ἔφθησαν ἐν ταῖς
ἀποστάσεσι καὶ προδοσίαις ἀναλώσαντες αὑτοὺς
ἢ τυχόντες ὧν ἤλπισαν. τὰ μὲν οὖν καθ᾽ ἕκαστα
τῶν γενομένων ἀπαγγέλλειν ἀκριβῶς τῆς πραγ-
ματικῆς ἱστορίας ἐστίν, ὅσα δὲ ἄξια λόγου τοῖς
τῶν Καισάρων ἔργοις καὶ πάθεσι συμπέπτωκεν,
οὐδὲ ἐμοὶ προσήκει παρελθεῖν.*

III. *Γάλβας Σουλπίκιος ὅτι μὲν ἰδιώτης πλου-
σιώτατος ἁπάντων εἰς τὸν Καισάρων παρῆλθεν
οἶκον, ὁμολογεῖται· μέγα δὲ ἔχων εὐγενείας ἀξίω-
μα τὸν Σερουΐων οἶκον, αὐτὸς ἐφρόνει μεῖζον ἐπὶ
τῇ Κάτλου συγγενείᾳ, πρωτεύσαντος ἀνδρὸς
ἀρετῇ καὶ δόξῃ τῶν καθ᾽ ἑαυτόν, εἰ καὶ τὸ δύνα-
2 σθαι μᾶλλον ἑκὼν ἑτέροις παρῆκεν. ἦν δέ τι καὶ
Λιβίᾳ τῇ Καίσαρος γυναικὶ κατὰ γένος προσή-
κων ὁ Γάλβας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Λιβίας παρασχού-*

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[1] Plutarch uses the Greek word drachma for the corresponding Roman denarius, a silver coin about equivalent to

it was clear that he was going to run away to Egypt, persuaded the soldiery, as though Nero were no longer there but had already fled, to proclaim Galba emperor, and promised as largess seventy-five hundred drachmas apiece for the court, or praetorian, guards, as they were called, and twelve hundred and fifty drachmas[1] for those in service outside of Rome, a sum which it was impossible to raise without inflicting ten thousand times more evils upon the world than those inflicted by Nero. This promise was at once the death of Nero, and soon afterwards of Galba: the one the soldiers abandoned to his fate in order to get their reward, the other they killed because they did not get it. Then, in trying to find someone who would give them as high a price, they destroyed themselves in a succession of revolts and treacheries before their expectations were satisfied. Now, the accurate and circumstantial narration of these events belongs to formal history; but it is my duty also not to omit such incidents as are worthy of mention in the deeds and fates of the Caesars.

III. That Sulpicius Galba was the richest private person who ever came to the imperial throne, is generally admitted; moreover, his connection with the noble house of the Servii gave him great prestige, although he prided himself more on his relationship to Catulus, who was the foremost man in his time in virtue and reputation, even if he gladly left to others the exercise of greater power. Galba was also somehow related to Livia, the wife of Augustus Caesar, and therefore, at the instance of Livia, he was made

the franc. But a Roman writer would reckon by sestertii, the sestertius being worth about a quarter of the denarius.

σης ὕπατος ἐκ Παλατίου προῆλθε. λέγεται δὲ καὶ στρατεύματος ἐν Γερμανίᾳ καλῶς ἄρξαι καὶ Λιβύης ἀνθύπατος γενόμενος σὺν ὀλίγοις ἐπαινεθῆναι. τὸ δὲ εὔκολον αὐτοῦ τῆς διαίτης καὶ φειδωλὸν ἐν δαπάναις καὶ ἀπέριττον αἰτίαν ἔσχεν αὐτοκράτορος γενομένου μικρολογίας, ἣν ἕωλόν τινα δόξαν εὐταξίας ἔφερε καὶ σωφροσύνης.
3 ἐπέμφθη δὲ ὑπὸ Νέρωνος Ἰβηρίας ἄρχων, οὔπω δεδιδαγμένου φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐν ἀξιώμασι μεγάλους[1] τῶν πολιτῶν. ἐκείνῳ δὲ καὶ φύσει δοκοῦντι πρᾴῳ γεγονέναι προσετίθει πίστιν εὐλαβείας τὸ γῆρας.

IV. Ἐπεὶ[2] δέ, τῶν ἀλιτηρίων ἐπιτρόπων ὠμῶς καὶ ἀγρίως τὰς ἐπαρχίας ἐκείνῳ διαφορούντων, ἄλλο μὲν εἶχεν οὐδὲν βοηθεῖν, αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ φανερὸς εἶναι συναλγῶν καὶ συναδικούμενος ἁμῶς γέ πως ἀναπνοήν τινα καὶ παραμυθίαν τοῖς καταδικαζομένοις καὶ πωλουμένοις παρέσχε· καὶ ποιημάτων εἰς Νέρωνα γινομένων καὶ πολλαχοῦ περιφερομένων καὶ ᾀδομένων, οὐκ ἐκώλυεν οὐδὲ συνηγανάκτει τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις· ἐφ' οἷς ἔτι μᾶλλον ἠγαπᾶτο ὑπὸ
2 τῶν ἀνθρώπων. καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἤδη συνήθης, ἔτος ὄγδοον ἐκεῖνο τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων ἐν ᾧ Ἰούνιος Οὐίνδιξ ἐπανέστη Νέρωνι, Γαλατίας ὢν στρατηγός. λέγεται μὲν οὖν καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐμφανοῦς ἀποστάσεως γράμματα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι παρὰ τοῦ Οὐίνδικος, οἷς μήτε πιστεῦσαι μήτε μηνῦσαι καὶ κατειπεῖν,

[1] μεγάλους Coraës and Bekker have μεγάλοις, after Reiske.
[2] ἐπεὶ Sint.[2] corrects to ἐκεῖ (*there*).

consul [1] by the emperor. We are told also that he commanded an army in Germany with distinction, and that when he was pro-consul of Africa,[2] he won such praise as few have done. But his simple and contented way of living, the sparing hand with which he dealt out money, always avoiding excess, were counted unto him, when he became emperor, as parsimony, so that the reputation which he bore for moderation and self-restraint was an insipid sort of thing. By Nero he was sent out as governor of Spain,[3] before Nero had yet learned to be afraid of citizens who were held in high esteem. Galba, however, was thought to be of a gentle nature, and his great age gave an added confidence that he would always act with caution.

IV. But when, as the nefarious agents of Nero savagely and cruelly harried the provinces, Galba could help the people in no other way than by making it plain that he shared in their distress and sense of wrong, this somehow brought relief and comfort to those who were being condemned in court and sold into slavery. And when verses were made about Nero, and men circulated and sang them freely, he did not put a stop to it nor share in the displeasure of Nero's agents; wherefore he was still more beloved by the inhabitants. For he was by this time well known to them, since it was in the eighth year of his governorship that Junius Vindex, a general in Gaul, revolted against Nero. It is said, indeed, that even before the open rebellion Galba received letters from Vindex, and that he neither put any trust in them nor gave accusing information

[1] In 33 A.D. [2] In 45 A.D. [3] In 61 A.D.

ὡς ἕτεροι τῶν ἡγεμονικῶν ἐπιστολὰς αὐτοῖς γραφείσας ἔπεμψαν πρὸς Νέρωνα καὶ διέφθειραν ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἧς ὕστερον μετασχόντες ὡμολόγησαν αὑτῶν οὐδὲν ἧττον ἢ ἐκείνου προδόται γεγονέναι.
3 ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ λαμπρῶς τὸν πόλεμον ἐκφήνας ὁ Οὐίνδιξ ἔγραψε τῷ Γάλβᾳ παρακαλῶν ἀναδέξασθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ παρασχεῖν ἑαυτὸν ἰσχυρῷ σώματι ζητοῦντι κεφαλήν, ταῖς Γαλατίαις δέκα μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν ὡπλισμένων ἐχούσαις ἄλλας τε πλείονας ὁπλίσαι δυναμέναις, προὔθηκε βουλὴν τοῖς φίλοις. ὧν οἱ μὲν ἠξίουν περιμένειν καραδοκοῦντα τίνα κίνησιν ἡ
4 Ῥώμη καὶ φορὰν ἕξει πρὸς τὸν νεωτερισμόν· Τίτος δὲ Οὐίνιος ὁ τοῦ στρατηγικοῦ τάγματος ἡγεμὼν αὐτοῖς[1] εἶπεν· "Ὦ Γάλβα, τίνα τρόπον βουλεύεσθε; τὸ γὰρ ζητεῖν Νέρωνι εἰ πιστοὶ μενοῦμεν, οὐκ ἤδη μενόντων ἐστίν. ὡς οὖν ὑπάρχοντος ἐχθροῦ Νέρωνος οὐ δὴ προετέον τὴν τοῦ Οὐίνδικος φιλίαν, ἢ καὶ κατηγορητέον εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ πολεμητέον, ὅτι σὲ βούλεται Ῥωμαίους ἔχειν ἄρχοντα μᾶλλον ἢ Νέρωνα τύραννον."

V. Ἐκ τούτου προγράμματι μὲν ἐδήλωσεν ὁ Γάλβας ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ τὰς κατὰ μέρος ἐλευθερώ- 1055
σεις ἀποδώσει τοῖς δεομένοις, λαλιὰ δὲ καὶ φήμη προεκπεσοῦσα πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἤθροισε προθύμων ἐπὶ τὸν νεωτερισμόν. οὐκ ἔφθη γοῦν φανερὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος γενόμενος, καὶ πάντες
2 αὐτὸν ὁμοφώνως αὐτοκράτορα προσεῖπον. ὁ δὲ ταύτην μὲν εὐθὺς οὐ προσεδέξατο τὴν προσηγορίαν, κατηγορήσας δὲ τοῦ Νέρωνος, καὶ τῶν ἀνῃρημένων ἀνδρῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐπιφανεστά-

[1] *αὐτοῖς* suggested by Sint.[2] for the *αὐτός* of the MSS.

about them, although other provincial governors sent to Nero the letters written to them, and thus did all they could to ruin the enterprise of Vindex; and yet they afterwards took part in it, and thus confessed that they had been false to themselves no less than to Vindex. But after Vindex had openly declared war, he wrote to Galba inviting him to assume the imperial power, and thus to serve what was a vigorous body in need of a head, meaning the Gallic provinces, which already had a hundred thousand men under arms, and could arm other thousands besides. Then Galba took counsel with his friends. Some of these thought it best for him to wait and see what movement Rome would set on foot in response to the revolution; but Titus Vinius, the captain of the praetorian guard, said to them: "O Galba, what counsels are these? For to ask whether we shall remain faithful to Nero means that we are already unfaithful. Assuming, then, that Nero is an enemy, we surely must not reject the friendship of Vindex; or else we must at once denounce him and make war upon him because he wishes the Romans to have thee as their ruler rather than Nero as their tyrant."

V. After this, Galba issued an edict appointing a day on which he would grant individual manumissions to all who desired them, and gossip and rumour flying all abroad brought together a multitude of men who were eager for the revolution. At any rate, no sooner was Galba seen upon the tribunal than all with one voice hailed him as emperor. However, he did not at once accept this appellation, but after denouncing Nero, and bewailing the most illustrious of the men who had been put to

τους ὀλοφυράμενος, ὡμολόγησεν ἐπιδώσειν τῇ
πατρίδι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πρόνοιαν, οὔτε Καῖσαρ οὔτ'
αὐτοκρατωρ, στρατηγὸς δὲ συγκλήτου καὶ δήμου
Ῥωμαίων ὀνομαζόμενος.

3 Ὅτι δ' ὀρθῶς ὁ Οὐίνδιξ καὶ λελογισμένως
ἐξεκαλεῖτο τὸν Γάλβαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἐπι-
στώσατο μάρτυρι τῷ Νέρωνι. προσποιούμενος
γὰρ ἐκείνου καταφρονεῖν καὶ παρ' οὐδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι
τὰ Γαλατῶν, ἅμα τῷ πυθέσθαι τὰ περὶ Γάλβαν
(ἔτυχε δὲ λελουμένος καὶ ἀριστῶν) ἀνέτρεψε τὴν
4 τράπεζαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ συγκλήτου ψηφισαμένης
πολέμιον τὸν Γάλβαν αὐτός τε παίζειν καὶ θρα-
σύνεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς φίλους βουλόμενος, οὐ φαύ-
λην ἔφη πρόρρησιν ἐμπεπτωκέναι λογισμοῦ δεο-
μένῳ χρημάτων αὐτῷ· καὶ τὰ μὲν Γαλατῶν, ὅταν
ὑποχείριοι γένωνται, λαφυραγωγήσεσθαι, ἡ δὲ
Γάλβα πάρεστιν οὐσία χρῆσθαι καὶ πωλεῖν ἤδη
5 πολεμίου πεφηνότος. οὗτός τε δὴ τὰ Γάλβα πι-
πράσκειν ἐκέλευε, καὶ Γάλβας ἀκούσας, ὅσα Νέ-
ρωνος ἦν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ κηρύττων εὕρισκε πολλοὺς
προθυμοτέρους ὠνητάς.

VI. Ἀφισταμένων δὲ πολλῶν τοῦ Νέρωνος καὶ
πάντων ἐπιεικῶς τῷ Γάλβᾳ προστιθεμένων, μόνος
Κλώδιος Μάκρος ἐν Λιβύῃ καὶ Οὐεργίνιος Ῥοῦφος
ἐν Γαλατίᾳ τοῦ Γερμανικοῦ στρατεύματος ἡγού-
μενος αὐτοὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἔπραττον, οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν
2 αἵρεσιν ἔχοντες. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Κλώδιος, ἐν ἁρπαγαῖς
πραγμάτων γεγονὼς καὶ φόνοις ἀνδρῶν δι' ὠμότητα
καὶ πλεονεξίαν, δῆλος ἦν ἐν τῷ μήτε κατέχειν
μήτε ἀφιέναι τὴν ἀρχὴν δύνασθαι περιφερόμενος,
Οὐεργίνιος δὲ ταγμάτων ἐπιστατῶν δυνατωτάτων
πολλάκις αὐτὸν ἀναγορευόντων αὐτοκράτορα καὶ

death by him, promised to devote his best powers to the service of his country, taking as his title, not Caesar, nor Emperor, but General of the Roman Senate and People.

Now, that Vindex acted wisely and well in calling upon Galba to be emperor, was convincingly proved by Nero. For though he pretended to despise Vindex and to regard matters in Gaul as of no moment, as soon as he learned what Galba had done —Nero had just taken his bath and was at breakfast —he overturned his table. However, after the Senate had voted Galba an enemy, Nero, with a desire to jest and put on a bold countenance with his friends, said that an excellent idea had occurred to him in his need of money: the property of the Gauls would not fall to him as spoil of war until after they should be subdued; but Galba's estate was ready to be used and sold at once, now that Galba had been declared a public enemy. So he ordered the property of Galba to be sold, and Galba, when he heard of it, put up at public sale all that Nero owned in Spain, and found many readier buyers.

VI. Many were now falling away from Nero, and almost all of them attached themselves to Galba; only Clodius Macer in Africa, and Verginius Rufus in Gaul (where he commanded the German forces), acted on their own account, though each took a different course. Clodius, whose cruelty and greed had led him into robberies and murders, was clearly in a strait where he could neither retain nor give up his command; while Verginius, who commanded the strongest legions and was often saluted by them as emperor and strongly urged to take the title, declared

βιαζομένων οὔτε αὐτὸς ἔφη λήψεσθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν οὔτε ἄλλῳ περιόψεσθαι διδομένην, ὃν ἂν μὴ ἡ
3 σύγκλητος ἕληται. ταῦτα τὸν Γάλβαν οὐ μετρίως ἐθορύβει τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ Οὐεργινίου καὶ Οὐίνδικος στρατεύματα τρόπον τινὰ βίᾳ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, ὥσπερ ἡνιόχους κρατῆσαι χαλινῶν μὴ δυνηθέντας, εἰς μάχην ἐξενεγκόντα μεγάλην συνέρραξαν, καὶ Οὐίνδικος ἑαυτὸν ἀνελόντος ἐπὶ δισμυρίοις Γαλατῶν πεσοῦσι, διῆλθε λόγος ὡς βουλομένων πάντων ἐπὶ νίκῃ τοσαύτῃ τὸν Οὐεργίνιον ἀναδέξασθαι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἢ πάλιν
4 μεταβαλουμένων πρὸς Νέρωνα, τότε δὴ παντάπασι περίφοβος γενόμενος ὁ Γάλβας ἔγραψε τῷ Οὐεργινίῳ, παρακαλῶν κοινοπραγεῖν καὶ διαφυλάσσειν ἅμα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν Ῥωμαίοις· αὖθις δὲ μετὰ τῶν φίλων εἰς Κλουνίαν, Ἰβηρικὴν πόλιν, ἀναχωρήσας ἐν τῷ μετανοεῖν περὶ τῶν γεγονότων καὶ ποθεῖν τὴν συνήθη καὶ σύντροφον ἀπραγμοσύνην μᾶλλον ἢ πράττειν τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων διέτριβεν.

VII. Ἦν δὲ θέρος ἤδη, καὶ βραχὺ πρὸ δείλης ἧκεν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης Ἴκελος ἀνὴρ ἀπελεύθερος ἑβδομαῖος. πυθόμενος δὲ τὸν Γάλβαν ἀναπαύεσθαι καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐβάδιζε συντόνως ἐπὶ τὸ δωμάτιον αὐτοῦ, καὶ βίᾳ τῶν θαλαμηπόλων ἀνοίξας καὶ παρελθὼν
2 ἀπήγγειλεν ὅτι καὶ ζῶντος ἔτι τοῦ Νέρωνος, οὐκ ὄντος δὲ φανεροῦ, τὸ στράτευμα πρῶτον, εἶτα ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ σύγκλητος αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Γάλβαν ἀναγορεύσειεν, ὀλίγον δὲ ὕστερον ἀπαγγελθείη τεθνηκὼς ἐκεῖνος· οὐ μὴν αὐτός γε πιστεύσας ἔφη τοῖς ἀπαγγέλλουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἐπελθὼν τῷ νεκρῷ καὶ κείμενον θεασάμενος, οὕτως ἐξελθεῖν.

that he would neither assume the imperial power himself, nor allow it to be given to anyone else whom the senate did not elect. These things greatly disturbed Galba at first; but presently the armies of Verginius and Vindex in a manner forced their leaders, like charioteers who had lost control of the reins, into the crash of a great battle, and Vindex, after the loss of twenty thousand Gauls, died by his own hand, and a report was current that all the soldiers desired Verginius, in view of the great victory he had won, to assume the imperial power, or they would go back again to Nero. Then indeed Galba was all alarm, and wrote to Verginius inviting him to join in efforts for the preservation alike of the empire and the freedom of the Romans. But after this he retired with his friends to Clunia, a city in Spain, and spent his time in repenting of what he had done and in longing for his habitual and wonted freedom from care, rather than in taking any of the steps now made necessary.

VII. It was now summer,[1] and shortly before sunset there came from Rome a freedman named Icelus, who had made the journey in seven days. Having learned that Galba was reposing by himself, he went in hot haste to his chamber, opened the door in spite of the chamberlains, entered, and announced that while Nero was still alive, but in hiding, that the army first, and then the senate and people, had proclaimed Galba emperor, and that a little while afterwards it was reported that Nero was dead; Icelus himself, however, as he said, had not believed the report, but had gone and seen the dead body where it lay, and then had set out on his journey. This announcement

[1] Of 68 A.D.

3 ταῦτα ἀπαγγελλόμενα λαμπρὸν ἦρε τὸν Γάλβαν,
καὶ συνέδραμε πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ θύρας ἐκτεθαρ- 1056
ρηκότων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ βεβαίως. καίτοι τὸ τάχος
ἦν ἄπιστον. ἀλλὰ καὶ δυσὶν ἡμέραις ὕστερον[1]
Οὐίνιος Τίτος[2] ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου μεθ' ἑτέρων
ἀφίκετο τὰ δόξαντα τῇ συγκλήτῳ καθ' ἕκαστον
ἀπαγγέλλων. οὗτος μὲν οὖν εἰς τάξιν ἔντιμον
προήχθη· τῷ δ' ἀπελευθέρῳ δακτυλίους τε
χρυσοῦς ἔδωκε καὶ Μαρκιανὸς ὁ Ἴκελος ἤδη
καλούμενος εἶχε τὴν πρώτην ἐν τοῖς ἀπελευθέροις
δύναμιν.

VIII. Ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ Νυμφίδιος Σαβῖνος, οὐκ
ἠρέμα καὶ κατὰ μικρόν, ἀλλὰ συλλήβδην ὁμοῦ,
πάντα πράγματα φέρων περιήνεγκεν εἰς ἑαυτόν,
ὡς Γάλβαν μὲν ὄντα πρεσβύτην καὶ μόλις εἰς
Ῥώμην ἐξαρκέσοντα φοράδην κομισθῆναι διὰ
γῆρας· ἦν γὰρ ἐτῶν τριῶν καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα· τὰ
δὲ αὐτόθι στρατεύματα, καὶ πάλαι πρὸς αὐτὸν
εὐνόως ἔχοντα καὶ νῦν ἑνὸς ἐξηρτημένα μόνου, διὰ
τὸ τῆς δωρεᾶς μέγεθος εὐεργέτην ἐκεῖνον ἡγεῖσθαι,
2 Γάλβαν δὲ χρεωφειλέτην. εὐθὺς οὖν Τιγελλίνῳ
μὲν τῷ συνάρχοντι προσέταξεν ἀποθέσθαι τὸ
ξίφος, ὑποδοχὰς δὲ ποιούμενος ἐδείπνιζε τοὺς
ὑπατικοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμονικούς, ἔτι τὸ Γάλβα
προστιθεὶς ὄνομα ταῖς κλήσεσιν, ἔν τε τῷ στρατο-
πέδῳ πολλοὺς παρεσκεύασε λέγειν ὡς πεμπτέον
ἐστὶ πρὸς Γάλβαν αἰτουμένους ἔπαρχον εἰσαεὶ
Νυμφίδιον ἄνευ συνάρχοντος.
3 Ἃ δὲ ἡ σύγκλητος εἰς τιμὴν ἔπραττεν αὐτοῦ

[1] ὕστερον supplied by Coraës, after Amyot.

highly elated Galba, and there came running to his door a multitude of men who had gained complete confidence as the result of Icelus' report. And yet the messenger's speed was incredible. But two days afterwards Titus Vinius with others came from the camp and reported in detail the decrees of the senate. Vinius, accordingly, was advanced to a position of honour, and as for the freedman, he was allowed to wear the gold ring, received the name of Marcianus instead of Icelus, and had the chief influence among the freedmen.

VIII. But at Rome Nymphidius Sabinus was forcing the entire control of affairs into his own hands, not slowly and little by little, but all at once. He thought that Galba was an old man and would hardly have the strength to be carried to Rome on a litter, by reason of his age, for he was in his seventy-third year; moreover, he knew that the soldiery in the city had long been well disposed towards him and were now devoted to him alone, regarding him as their benefactor because of the large gifts which he promised, but Galba as their debtor. Straightway, therefore, he ordered his colleague Tigellinus to lay down his sword, gave receptions at which he banqueted men who had been consuls or in high command (although he still affixed the name of Galba to his invitations), and instigated many of the soldiers to declare that a deputation ought to be sent to Galba demanding that Nymphidius be made prefect for life without a colleague.

Moreover, the senate did much to enhance his

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[2] Τίτος after this name the words πολλὰ τῶν, deleted by Coraës and Bekker, are retained by Sint.[2] with indication of a lacuna (πολλὰ . . . τῶν).

καὶ δύναμιν, ἀνακαλοῦσα εὐεργέτην καὶ συντρέ-
χουσα καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπὶ θύρας καὶ παντὸς ἐξάρχειν
δόγματος ἀξιοῦσα καὶ βεβαιοῦν, ἔτι περαιτέρω
τόλμης ἀνῆγεν αὐτόν, ὥστε ὀλίγου χρόνου τοῖς
θεραπεύουσι μὴ μόνον ἐπίφθονον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φοβε-
4 ρὸν εἶναι. τῶν δ' ὑπάτων οἰκέτας δημοσίους
προχειρισαμένων τὰ δόγματα κομίζοντας τῷ αὐτο-
κράτορι, καὶ τὰ καλούμενα διπλώματα σεσημα-
σμένα δόντων, ἃ γνωρίζοντες οἱ κατὰ πόλιν
ἄρχοντες ἐν ταῖς τῶν ὀχημάτων ἀμοιβαῖς ἐπιτα-
χύνουσι τὰς προπομπὰς τῶν γραμματηφόρων, οὐ
μετρίως ἠγανάκτησεν ὅτι μὴ παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ
σφραγῖδα καὶ στρατιώτας λαβόντες ἀνέπεμψαν,
ἀλλὰ λέγεται καὶ βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τῶν ὑπάτων,
εἶτα τὴν ὀργὴν ἀπολογησαμένοις καὶ δεηθεῖσιν
5 ἀνῆκε. τῷ δὲ δήμῳ χαριζόμενος οὐκ ἐκώλυε τὸν
παραπίπτοντα τῶν Νέρωνος ἀποτυμπανίζειν.
Σπῖκλον μὲν οὖν τὸν μονομάχον ἀνδριάσι Νέρωνος
ἑλκομένοις ὑποβαλόντες ἐν ἀγορᾷ διέφθειραν,
Ἀπόνιον δέ τινα τῶν κατηγορικῶν ἀνατρέψαντες
ἁμάξας λιθοφόρους ἐπήγαγον, ἄλλους δὲ διέσπα-
σαν πολλούς, ἐνίους μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας, ὥστε καὶ
Μαύρικον, ἄνδρα τῶν ἀρίστων καὶ ὄντα καὶ δο-
κοῦντα, πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον εἰπεῖν ὅτι φοβεῖται
μὴ ταχὺ Νέρωνα ζητήσωσιν.

IX. Οὕτω δὲ προσάγων ὁ Νυμφίδιος ἐγγυτέρω ταῖς ἐλπίσιν οὐκ ἔφευγε Γαΐου Καίσαρος υἱὸς λέγεσθαι τοῦ μετὰ Τιβέριον ἄρξαντος. ἐγνώκει γὰρ ὁ Γάϊος, ὡς ἔοικε, τὴν τεκοῦσαν αὐτὸν ἔτι

[1] Caligula.

honour and power, giving him the title of benefactor, assembling daily at his door, and allowing him the privilege of initiating and confirming all their decrees. This raised him to a still higher pitch of boldness, so that within a short time those who paid court to him were filled, not only with jealousy, but also with fear. When the consuls provided public servants to carry the decrees of the senate to the emperor, and gave to these the diplomas, as they were called, sealed with their official seal (in order that the magistrates of the various cities, recognising this, might expedite the supply of fresh vehicles for the journey of the couriers), he was vexed beyond all bounds because the decrees had not been sent under his seal and in charge of his soldiers, nay, it is said that he actually thought of proceeding against the consuls, but put away his wrath when they excused themselves and begged for forgiveness. Again, in his desire to gratify the people, he would not prevent them from beating to death any follower of Nero who fell into their hands. Accordingly, they cast Spiculus the gladiator under statues of Nero that were being dragged about in the forum, and killed him; Aponius, one of Nero's informers, they threw to the ground and dragged waggons laden with stone over him; and many others, some of whom had done no wrong, they tore in pieces, so that Mauricus, who was justly deemed one of the best men in Rome, told the senate that he was afraid they would soon be searching for a Nero.

IX. Thus coming in his hopes nearer and nearer to his goal, Nymphidius was not averse to having it said that he was the son of the Caius Caesar[1] who succeeded Tiberius. For Caius, as it would appear, while still

μειράκιον ὢν οὐκ ἀειδῆ τὴν ὄψιν οὖσαν, ἐκ δ'
ἀκεστρίας ἐπιμισθίου Καλλίστῳ, Καίσαρος ἀπ-
2 ελευθέρῳ, γεγενημένην. ἀλλ' ἦν ἡ πρὸς Γάϊον
ἔντευξις αὐτῆς, ὡς ἔοικε, νεωτέρα τῆς Νυμφιδίου
γενέσεως, αἰτίαν δὲ ἔσχεν ἐκ Μαρτιανοῦ τοῦ μο-
νομάχου γεγονέναι, τῆς Νυμφιδίας ἐρασθείσης
διὰ δόξαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐδόκει καθ' ὁμοιότητα
3 τῆς ἰδέας ἐκείνῳ προσήκειν. ἀλλ' ὁμολογῶν γε
Νυμφιδίας εἶναι μητρὸς ἔργον μὲν αὐτοῦ μόνου
τὴν Νέρωνος ἐποιεῖτο κατάλυσιν, ἆθλα δὲ αὐτῆς
οὐ νομίζων ἱκανὰ καρποῦσθαι τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰ
χρήματα καὶ τὸ Σπόρῳ τοῦ Νέρωνος συγκαθεύδειν,
ὃν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πυρᾶς ἔτι καιομένου τοῦ νεκροῦ
μεταπεμψάμενος ἐκεῖνος ἐν γαμετῆς εἶχε τάξει καὶ 1057
Ποππαίαν προσηγόρευεν, ἐπὶ τὴν διαδοχὴν παρ-
4 εδύετο τῆς ἡγεμονίας. καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν Ῥώμῃ
διὰ τῶν φίλων ὑπειργάζετο, καὶ γυναικῶν τινων
αὐτῷ καὶ συγκλητικῶν ἀνδρῶν κρύφα συλλαμβα-
νομένων, ἕνα δὲ τῶν φίλων, Γελλιανόν, εἰς Ἰβηρίαν
ἔπεμψεν κατασκεψόμενον.

X. Τῷ δὲ Γάλβᾳ μετὰ τήν Νέρωνος τελευτὴν
ἐχώρει πάντα. Οὐεργίνιος δὲ Ῥοῦφος ἀμφίβολος
ὢν ἔτι φροντίδα παρεῖχε, μὴ τῷ δυνάμεως πολλῆς
καὶ μαχιμωτάτης ἄρχειν προσειληφὼς τὸ νενικηκέ-
ναι Οὐίνδικα καὶ κεχειρῶσθαι μέγα μέρος τῆς
Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας, ἐν σάλῳ γενομένην ἀποστα-
τικῷ Γαλατίαν ἅπασαν, ὑπακούσαι τοῖς παρα-
2 καλοῦσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. οὐδενὸς γὰρ ἦν
ὄνομα μεῖζον, οὐδὲ εἶχε δόξαν οὐδεὶς ὅσην ὁ Οὐερ-

a young man, had been intimate with the mother of Nymphidius, a woman of comely appearance and a daughter of Callistus, Caesar's freedman, by a hired sempstress. But this intimacy, as it would seem, was later than the birth of Nymphidius, and it was believed that he was a son of Martianus, the gladiator (with whom Nymphidia fell in love on account of his fame), and his resemblance to Martianus was thought to favour this connection. But although he certainly admitted that Nymphidia was his mother, he took to himself sole credit for the overthrow of Nero, and thinking himself insufficiently rewarded for this by the honours and wealth which he enjoyed, and by the company of Sporus, Nero's favourite (whom he had sent for at once, while Nero's body was yet burning on its pyre, and treated as his consort, and addressed by the name of Poppaea), he aspired to the succession in the empire. Some secret steps to this end he himself took at Rome through the agency of his friends, and certain women and men of senatorial rank secretly assisted him, and one of his friends, Gellianus, he sent to Spain to keep an eye upon matters there.

X. But everything went well with Galba after the death of Nero. Verginius Rufus, it is true, who was still hesitating, gave him anxiety. For besides commanding a large and most efficient army, Verginius had the added prestige of his victory over Vindex and his subjugation of all Gaul, which was a large part of the Roman Empire and had been in the throes of revolt. Galba therefore feared that Verginius might listen to those who invited him to take the supreme power. For no man's name was greater than that of Verginius, and no man had a reputation

γίνιος, ὡς μεγίστη ῥοπὴ τοῖς Ῥωμαίων πράγμασι τυραννίδος ὁμοῦ χαλεπῆς καὶ Γαλατικῶν πολέμων ἀπαλλαγῇ γενόμενος. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος τότε τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐμμένων λογισμοῖς ἐφύλαττε τῇ συγκλήτῳ τὴν αἵρεσιν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος. καίτοι φανερᾶς γε τῆς Νέρωνος τελευτῆς γενομένης τό τε πλῆθος ἐνέκειτο τῷ Οὐεργινίῳ πάλιν, καὶ τῶν χιλιάρχων τις τῶν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἐκέλευε τὸν Οὐεργίνιον δέχεσθαι τὴν ἡγεμο-
3 νίαν ἢ τὸν σίδηρον. ἐπεὶ δὲ Φάβιος Οὐάλης ἄρχων ἑνὸς τάγματος ὤρκωσε πρῶτος εἰς Γάλβαν, καὶ γράμματα ἧκεν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης περὶ ὧν ἡ σύγκλητος ἐψηφίσατο, χαλεπῶς μὲν καὶ μόλις, ἔπεισε δ' οὖν τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Γάλβαν ἀνειπεῖν· καὶ πέμψαντος αὐτοῦ διάδοχον Φλάκκον Ὁρδεώνιον ἐδέξατο. καὶ παραδοὺς ἐκείνῳ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτὸς ἀπήντησε τῷ Γάλβᾳ πρόσω χωροῦντι, καὶ συνανέστρεφεν, οὔτε ὀργῆς οὔτε τιμῆς
4 ἐπιδήλου τυγχάνων. αἴτιος δὲ τοῦ μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ Γάλβας αἰδούμενος τὸν ἄνδρα, τοῦ δὲ οἱ φίλοι καὶ μάλιστα Οὐίνιος Τίτος, ὑπὸ φθόνου τὸν Οὐεργίνιον οἰόμενος μὲν κολούειν, ἠγνόει δὲ ἄρα τῷ Οὐεργινίου χρηστῷ δαίμονι συνεργῶν, ἤδη τὸν ἄνδρα πολέμων καὶ κακῶν, ὅσα τοὺς ἄλλους ἡγεμόνας κατέσχεν, ἐκτὸς εἰς βίον ἀκύμονα καὶ γῆρας εἰρήνης καὶ ἡσυχίας μεστὸν ὑπεκτιθεμένῳ.

XI. Γάλβαν δὲ περὶ Νάρβωνα, πόλιν Γαλατικήν, οἱ παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου πρέσβεις ἐντυχόντες ἠσπάζοντο, καὶ παρεκάλουν ἐπιφανῆναι τῷ δήμῳ ποθοῦντι ταχέως. ὁ δὲ τάς τε ἄλλας παρεῖχεν ἐντεύξεις καὶ συνουσίας αὐτοῖς φιλανθρώπους καὶ

equal to his, since he had exercised the greatest influence in ridding the Roman state alike of a grievous tyrant and of Gallic wars. But in the present crisis he was true to his original resolves and maintained the senate's right to choose the emperor. And yet when Nero's death was known for certain, the mass of his soldiery were insistent again with Verginius, and one of the military tribunes in his tent drew his sword and ordered Verginius to choose between imperial power and the steel. But after Fabius Valens, commander of a legion, had led off in taking the oath of allegiance to Galba, and letters had come from Rome telling of the senate's decrees, he succeeded at last, though with the greatest difficulty, in persuading his soldiers to declare Galba emperor; and when Galba sent Flaccus Hordeonius to succeed him, Verginius received that officer, handed over his army to him, and went himself to meet Galba as he advanced, and turned back in his company without receiving any clear mark either of his anger or esteem. This was due, in the one case, to Galba himself, who had a wholesome respect for Verginius, and in the other to Galba's friends, especially Titus Vinius. Vinius was jealous of Verginius, and thought to block his career; but without knowing it he was aiding the man's good genius, which was now removing him from all the wars and miseries which encompassed the other leaders, and bringing him into a calm haven of life, and an old age full of peace and quiet.

XI. At Narbo, a city of Gaul, Galba was met by the deputies from the senate, who greeted him and begged him to gratify speedily the eager desire of the people to see him. In his general interviews and meetings with them he was kind and unassuming,

δημοτικάς, πρός τε τὰς ἑστιάσεις πολλῆς κατασκευῆς καὶ θεραπείας βασιλικῆς παρούσης, ἣν ἐκ τῶν Νέρωνος ὁ Νυμφίδιος αὐτῷ προσέπεμψεν, οὐδενὶ χρώμενος ἐκείνων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πᾶσιν, εὐδοκίμει, μεγαλόφρων ἀνὴρ καὶ κρείττων ἀπειροκαλίας φαινόμενος.
2 ταχὺ μέντοι τὰ γενναῖα ταῦτα καὶ ἄτυφα καὶ πολιτικὰ δημαγωγίαν Οὐίνιος ἀποφαίνων καὶ κομψότητα μεγάλων ἀπαξιοῦσαν αὐτήν, ἔπεισε χρήμασί τε χρῆσθαι τοῖς Νέρωνος καὶ περὶ τὰς ὑποδοχὰς μὴ φείδεσθαι τῆς βασιλικῆς πολυτελείας. καὶ ὅλως αἴσθησιν αὐτοῦ κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπὸ τῷ Οὐινίῳ γενησομένου παρεῖχεν ὁ πρεσβύτης.

XII. Ἦν δὲ Οὐίνιος ἀργυρίου μὲν ἐσχάτως καὶ παρ' ὀντινοῦν ἥττων, ἔνοχος δὲ καὶ τοῖς περὶ γυναῖκας ἁμαρτήμασιν. ἔτι γὰρ ὢν νέος καὶ στρατευόμενος ὑπὸ Καλβισίῳ Σαβίνῳ τὴν πρώτην στρατείαν ἀκόλαστον οὖσαν τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ ἡγεμόνος παρεισήγαγε νύκτωρ εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν ἐσθῆτι στρατιωτικῇ καὶ διέφθειρεν ἐν τοῖς
2 ἀρχείοις, ἃ πριγκίπια καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ Γάϊος Καῖσαρ ἔδησεν αὐτόν· ἐκείνου δὲ ἀποθανόντος εὐτυχίᾳ χρησάμενος ἀπελύθη. δει- 1058
πνῶν δὲ παρὰ Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι ποτήριον ἀργυροῦν ὑφείλετο· πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ Καῖσαρ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ πάλιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐκάλεσεν, ἐλθόντι δὲ ἐκέλευσεν ἐκείνῳ μηδὲν ἀργυροῦν, ἀλλὰ κεράμεα πάντα προσφέρειν καὶ παρατιθέναι τοὺς ὑπηρέτας.
3 τοῦτο μὲν οὖν διὰ τὴν Καίσαρος μετριότητα κωμικωτέραν γενομένην γέλωτος, οὐκ ὀργῆς ἄξιον ἔδοξεν· ἃ δὲ τὸν Γάλβαν ἔχων ὑφ' αὐτῷ, καὶ δυνάμενος

and when he entertained them, though there was an abundance of royal furniture and service at his command, which Nymphidius had sent him from Nero's palace, he used none of it, but only what was his own, thus winning a good repute, and showing himself a man of large mind who was superior to vulgarity. Vinius, however, by declaring to him that this dignified, simple, and unassuming course was merely a flattery of the people and a refinement of delicacy which thought itself unworthy of great things, soon persuaded him to make use of Nero's riches, and in his receptions not to shrink from a regal wealth of outlay. And in general the aged man let it be seen little by little that he was going to be under the direction of Vinius.

XII. Now Vinius was to the last degree and beyond all compare a slave of money, and was also addicted to loose conduct with women. For when he was still a young man and was serving his first campaign, under Calvisius Sabinus, he brought his commander's wife, an unchaste woman, by night into the camp in the garb of a soldier, and had commerce with her in the general's quarters (the Romans call them "principia"). For this offence Caius Caesar put him in prison; but on the death of the emperor he had the good fortune to be released. While he was at supper with Claudius Caesar, he purloined a silver drinking-cup, and Caesar, learning of it, invited him to supper again the next day, and when he came, ordered the attendants to set before him no silver plate at all, but only earthenware. This misdeed, it is true, owing to the comic turn which Caesar's moderation took, was thought worthy of laughter, not of anger; but what he did when he had

μέγιστον ἐπὶ χρήμασιν, ἔπραττε, τραγικῶν παθῶν καὶ συμφορῶν μεγάλων τοῖς μὲν αἰτίαν, τοῖς δὲ πρόφασιν παρέσχεν.

XIII. Ὁ γὰρ Νυμφίδιος εὐθὺς ἐπανελθόντος τοῦ Γελλιανοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν, ὃν ἔπεμψε τοῦ Γάλβα τρόπον τινὰ κατάσκοπον, ἀκούσας τῆς μὲν αὐλῆς καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων ἔπαρχον ἀποδεδεῖχθαι Κορνήλιον Λάκωνα, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἶναι τοῦ Οὐινίου κράτος, αὐτῷ δὲ μηδέποτε τοῦ Γάλβα στῆναι πλησίον ἐγγεγονέναι μηδὲ ἐντυχεῖν ἰδίᾳ, πάντων αὐτὸν ὑφορωμένων καὶ διαφυλαττόντων, ἐθο-
2 ρυβήθη· καὶ συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τοῦ στρατεύματος ἔφη Γάλβαν μὲν αὐτὸν εἶναι πρεσβύτην ἐπιεικῆ καὶ μέτριον, ἐλάχιστα δὲ τοῖς αὑτοῦ χρώμενον λογισμοῖς ὑπὸ Οὐινίου καὶ Λάκωνος οὐκ εὖ διοικεῖσθαι. πρὶν οὖν λαθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἣν ἔσχε Τιγελλῖνος ἰσχὺν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι κτησαμένους, πεμπτέον εἶναι πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα πρέσβεις ἀπὸ στρατοπέδου τοὺς διδάξοντας ὅτι τῶν φίλων δύο μόνους τούτους ἀποσκευασάμενος ἡδίων παρέ-
3 σται πᾶσι καὶ ποθεινότερος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἀλλ' ἄτοπον ἐδόκει καὶ ἀλλόκοτον ἡγεμόνα πρεσβύτην, ὥσπερ ἄρτι γευόμενον ἐξουσίας μειράκιον, οἷς χρήσεται φίλοις ἢ μή, ῥυθμίζειν, ἑτέραν ὁδὸν τραπόμενος ἔγραφε τῷ Γάλβᾳ δεδιττόμενος, νῦν μὲν ὡς ὕπουλα καὶ μετέωρα πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐχούσης, νῦν δὲ Κλώδιον Μάκρον ἐν Λιβύῃ τὰ σιτηγὰ κατέχειν, αὖθις δὲ παρακινεῖν τὰ Γερμανικὰ τάγματα, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Συρίᾳ καὶ Ἰουδαίᾳ δυνάμεων ὅμοια πυνθάνεσθαι.

Galba under his control and was most influential with him in financial matters, was partly a cause and partly a pretext for tragic events and great calamities.

XIII. For Nymphidius, as soon as Gellianus had come back to him, whom he had sent to be a sort of spy upon Galba, heard that Cornelius Laco had been appointed prefect of the praetorian guard, and that Vinius was all powerful with Galba, while Gellianus had never stood near him or seen him in private, but had been looked upon with suspicion and distrust by everyone. Nymphidius was therefore much disturbed, and calling together the officers of the army, told them that Galba himself was a well-meaning and moderate old man, but did not follow his own counsels in the least, and was badly directed by Vinius and Laco. Therefore, before these men had succeeded in secretly acquiring the power which Tigellinus had held, a deputation should be sent to the emperor from the camp, to inform him that if he would put away from his company of friends only these two men, he would be more acceptable and welcome to all on his arrival. But this speech of Nymphidius did not convince his hearers; nay, they thought it a strange and unnatural thing to dictate to an aged emperor, as if he had been a youth just tasting power, what friends he was to have or not to have. Nymphidius therefore took another course, and wrote to Galba messages intended to alarm him—now, that there was much hidden distemper and unrest in the city, now, that Clodius Macer was holding back the grain supplies in Africa; again, that the legions in Germany were mutinous, and that like news came concerning the forces in Syria and Judaea. But since Galba gave

4 τοῦ δὲ Γάλβα μὴ πάνυ τὸν νοῦν προσέχοντος αὐτῷ μηδὲ πιστεύοντος ἔγνω προεπιχειρεῖν· καίτοι Κλώδιος Κέλσος Ἀντιοχεύς, ἀνὴρ ἔμφρων, εὔνους δὲ ἐκείνῳ καὶ πιστός, ἀπηγόρευε, λέγων οὐκ ἂν οἴεσθαι μίαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ συνοικίαν Καίσαρα προσειπεῖν Νυμφίδιον. ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ κατεγέλων, καὶ Μιθριδάτης ὁ Ποντικὸς ἐπισκώπτων τὴν φαλακρότητα καὶ ῥυσσότητα τοῦ Γάλβα νῦν ἔφη τινὰ δοκεῖν εἶναι Ῥωμαίοις, ὀφθέντα δὲ φανεῖσθαι τῶν ἡμερῶν τούτων ἃς καλεῖται Καῖσαρ, ὄνειδος.

XIV. Ἔδοξεν οὖν περὶ μέσας νύκτας εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν παραγαγόντας ἀναδεικνύειν αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Νυμφίδιον. πρῶτος δὲ τῶν χιλιάρχων Ἀντώνιος Ὀνωράτος ἑσπέρας γενομένης τοὺς ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ στρατιώτας συναγαγὼν ἐκάκιζε μὲν αὑτόν, ἐκάκιζε δὲ ἐκείνους ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τροπὰς τοσαύτας τρεπομένους κατ' οὐδένα λογισμὸν οὐδὲ αἵρεσιν ἀμεινόνων, ἀλλὰ δαίμονός τινος αὐτοὺς ἐκ προδοσίας εἰς προδοσίαν ἐλαύνοντος.
2 καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα προφάσεις ἔχειν τὰ Νέρωνος ἐγκλήματα· νῦν δὲ Γάλβαν προδιδόναι, τίνα φόνον μητρὸς ἐγκαλοῦντας ἢ σφαγὴν γυναικός, ἢ ποίαν αἰδουμένους θυμέλην ἢ τραγῳδίαν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος; "Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνον ἐπὶ τούτοις ὑπεμείναμεν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ Νυμφιδίῳ πεισθέντες ὅτι πρῶτος ἡμᾶς ἐγκατέλιπε καὶ πέφευγεν εἰς
3 Αἴγυπτον. πότερον οὖν Νέρωνι Γάλβαν ἐπιθυσώμεθα, καὶ τὸν ἐκ Νυμφιδίας ἑλόμενοι Καίσαρα τὸν ἐκ Λιβίας ἀνέλωμεν, ὡς τὸν ἐξ Ἀγριπ-

no heed to him whatever and put no confidence in his reports, he determined not to wait before making his attempt. And yet Clodius Celsus of Antioch, a man of good sense, who was well-disposed and faithful to him, tried to dissuade him, saying that in his opinion not a single precinct in Rome would give Nymphidius the title of Caesar. But many ridiculed Galba, and especially Mithridates of Pontus, who scoffed about his bald head and wrinkled face, and said that now the Romans thought him a great personage, but when they saw him they would regard all the days in which he had borne the title of Caesar as a disgrace to them.

XIV. It was decided, therefore, to bring Nymphidius into the camp about midnight and proclaim him emperor. But when it was evening, the leading military tribune, Antonius Honoratus, calling together the soldiers under his command, reviled himself, and reviled them for changing about so often in so short a time, not according to any plan or choice of better things, but because some evil spirit drove them from one treachery to another. In the first instance, he said, they had an excuse in the crimes of Nero; but now, if they were to betray Galba, what charge of murdering his mother or slaying his wife could they bring against him, or what feelings of shame that their emperor should appear in public as musician or tragic actor? "Nay, not even with these provocations would we consent to abandon a Nero, but we had to be persuaded by Nymphidius that Nero had first abandoned us and fled to Egypt. Shall we, then, sacrifice Galba after Nero, and choosing the son of Nymphidia as our Caesar, shall we slay the scion of the house of Livia,

πίνης ἀνείλομεν; ἢ τούτῳ δίκην ἐπιθέντες ὧν 1059
δέδρακε, τιμωροὶ μὲν Νέρωνος, Γάλβα δὲ φύλακες
ἀγαθοὶ καὶ πιστοὶ φανῶμεν;"

Ταῦτα λέγοντι τῷ χιλιάρχῳ προσέθεντο πάντες
οἱ στρατιῶται, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προσιόντες ἐμμέ-
νειν παρεκάλουν τῇ πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα πίστει·
4 καὶ τοὺς πλείους μετέστησαν. ἀρθείσης δὲ βοῆς,
εἴτε πεισθεὶς ὁ Νυμφίδιος, ὥς φασιν ἔνιοι, καλεῖν
αὐτὸν ἤδη τοὺς στρατιώτας, εἴτε προλαβεῖν σπεύ-
δων τὸ θορυβοῦν ἔτι καὶ διστάζον, ὑπὸ φωτὶ
πολλῷ προῄει, λόγον τινὰ κομίζων ἐν βιβλίῳ
γεγραμμένον ὑπὸ Κιγγωνίου Βάρρωνος, ὃν ἐκμε-
5 μελετήκει πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰπεῖν. ἰδὼν δὲ
κεκλεισμένας τοῦ στρατοπέδου τὰς πύλας καὶ
περὶ τὰ τείχη πολλοὺς ὡπλισμένους ἔδεισε· καὶ
προσιὼν ἠρώτα τί βούλονται καὶ τίνος κελεύ-
σαντος ἐν ὅπλοις γεγόνασιν. ἀπαντώσης δ' αὐτῷ
παρὰ πάντων μιᾶς φωνῆς, Γάλβαν αὐτοκράτορα
γινώσκειν, κἀκεῖνος ὁμόσε χωρῶν ἐπευφήμει καὶ
6 τοὺς ἑπομένους ἐκέλευε. τῶν δὲ παρὰ τὰς πύλας
παρέντων αὐτὸν εἰσελθεῖν μετ' ὀλίγων αὐτὸς
ἀκοντίζεται λόγχῃ· καὶ ταύτην μὲν ἐδέξατο πρὸ
αὐτοῦ θυρεῷ Σεπτίμιος, ἄλλων δὲ γυμνοῖς ξίφεσιν
ἐπιφερομένων φυγὼν καὶ διωχθεὶς ἐν οἰκήματι
στρατιώτου σφάττεται. καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν εἰς μέσον
ἑλκύσαντες καὶ περιβαλόντες κιγκλίδα θέαμα τοῖς
βουλομένοις μεθ' ἡμέραν παρέσχον.

XV. Οὕτω δὲ τοῦ Νυμφιδίου καταστρέψαντος
ὁ Γάλβας πυθόμενος, καὶ τῶν συνωμοτῶν αὐτοῦ

as we have slain the son of Agrippina? Or, shall we inflict punishment on Nymphidius for his evil deeds, and thereby show ourselves avengers of Nero, but true and faithful guardians of Galba?"

So spoke the tribune, and all his soldiers took his side, and visiting their fellow-soldiers, exhorted them to maintain their fidelity to the emperor; and they brought over the greater part of them. But now loud shouts arose, and Nymphidius, either because he was convinced, as some say, that the soldiers were already calling him, or because he was anxious to win over betimes the element that was still unruly and mutinous, came up in a glare of lights, carrying in his hand a speech written out for him by Cingonius Varro; this he had got by heart to deliver to the soldiers. But when he saw the gate of the camp closed and a great number of men under arms along the walls, he was struck with fear; and drawing near, he asked what they meant, and by whose command they were under arms. One cry came to him from the lips of all, and this was that they acknowledged Galba as emperor, whereupon he also, as he joined them, shouted in approval, and bade his followers do the same. But after the soldiers at the gate had permitted him to enter with a few followers, a lance was hurled at him. This weapon was received in the shield which Septimius interposed, but others assailed him, with drawn swords, whereupon he fled, was pursued, and was cut down in a soldier's hut. His dead body was dragged forth, surrounded with a paling, and exposed to public view all day.

XV. Such was the violent end of Nymphidius, and when Galba learned of it, he ordered such of his

κελεύσας ἀποθανεῖν ὅσοι μὴ δι' αὐτῶν εὐθὺς ἀπέθανον, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Κιγγώνιος ὁ τὸν λόγον γράψας καὶ Μιθριδάτης ὁ Ποντικός, ἔδοξε μὴ νομίμως, εἰ καὶ δικαίως, μηδὲ δημοτικῶς ἀνῃρηκέναι πρὸ κρίσεως ἄνδρας οὐκ ἀσήμους. ἕτερον γὰρ ἡγεμονίας σχῆμα προσεδέχοντο πάντες, ἐξαπατώ-
2 μενοι συνήθως ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν ἀρχῇ λεγομένων. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἠνίασεν αὐτοὺς ἀνὴρ ὑπατικὸς καὶ Νέρωνι πιστὸς ἀποθανεῖν κελευσθείς, Πετρώνιος Τουρπιλιανός. Μάκρον[1] γὰρ ἐν Λιβύῃ διὰ Τρεβωνίου[1] καὶ Φοντήϊον ἐν Γερμανίᾳ διὰ Οὐάλεντος ἀνελὼν πρόφασιν εἶχεν ἐν ὅπλοις καὶ στρατοπέδοις ὄντας φοβηθῆναι. Τουρπιλιανὸν δέ, γέροντα γυμνὸν καὶ ἄνοπλον, λόγου μεταλαβεῖν οὐδὲν ἐκώλυεν, εἴ τις ἣν ἐπαγγέλλεται μετριότητα τοῖς πράγμασιν[2] ἔργῳ φυλάξειν ἔμελλε.

3 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τοιαύτας ἔχει μέμψεις. ἐπεὶ δὲ προσιὼν ἀπεῖχε τῆς πόλεως περὶ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους, ἐνετύγχανεν ἀκοσμίᾳ καὶ θορύβῳ τῶν ἐρετῶν τὴν ὁδὸν προκατεχόντων καὶ περικεχυμένων πανταχόθεν. οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν οὓς εἰς ἓν τάγμα
4 ὁ Νέρων συλλοχίσας ἀπέφηνε στρατιώτας· καὶ τότε παρόντες ἐκβεβαιώσασθαι τὴν στρατείαν οὔτ' ὀφθῆναι τοῖς ἀπαντῶσιν οὔτ' ἀκουσθῆναι παρίεσαν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, ἀλλ' ἐθορύβουν βοῇ σημεῖα τῷ τάγματι καὶ χώραν αἰτοῦντες. ἐκείνου δὲ ὑπερτιθεμένου καὶ πάλιν εἰπεῖν[3] κελεύσαντος,

[1] Μάκρον (as in xiii. 3), Τρεβωνίου, suggested by Sint.[2] for Μάκρωνα and Τρεβωνιανοῦ of the MSS.

[2] πράγμασιν Sint.[2] has γράμμασιν (*in his letters*), after Emporius.

[3] πάλιν εἰπεῖν Bekker has παρείκειν (*yield*), after Coraës.

fellow-conspirators as had not at once taken their own lives to be put to death. Among these was Cingonius, who wrote the speech for Nymphidius, and Mithridates of Pontus. But it was held to be illegal and despotic, even though just, to put to death without a trial men who were not without distinction. For everyone expected a different mode of government, being thoroughly deceived, as is usual, by assurances made in the beginning. And people took it still more amiss when Petronius Turpilianus, a man of consular dignity who was faithful to Nero, was ordered to take his own life. For in having Macer taken off in Africa at the hands of Trebonius, and Fonteius in Germany at the hands of Valens, Galba could excuse himself with the fear they inspired as commanders of armed forces. But there was no reason why Turpilianus, a helpless old man and unarmed, should not have a chance to defend himself, if the emperor was really going to observe that moderation in his dealings which he promised.

Such, then, was the censure to which these acts exposed Galba. Moreover, when, in his approach to the city, he was distant from it about five-and-twenty furlongs, he fell in with a disorderly and tumultuous crowd of seamen, who beset his way and encompassed him on all sides. These were men whom Nero had formed into a legion and given the title of soldiers. And now they were there to enforce their just rights as soldiers, and would not suffer the emperor to be seen or heard by those who came to meet him, but with tumultuous shouts demanded standards for their legion and regular quarters. When Galba put off their demand and told them to renew it at another time, they declared

ἀρνήσεως σχῆμα τὴν ἀναβολὴν εἶναι φάσκοντες ἠγανάκτουν καὶ παρείποντο μὴ φειδόμενοι βοῆς. ἐνίων δὲ καὶ τὰς μαχαίρας σπασαμένων, ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς ὁ Γάλβας. ὑπέστη δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐκείνων, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς ἀνατραπέντες, οἱ δὲ φεύγοντες διεφθάρησαν, οὐ χρηστὸν οὐδὲ αἴσιον ποιοῦντες τῷ Γάλβᾳ τὸν οἰωνὸν εἰσιόντι διὰ πολλοῦ φόνου καὶ νεκρῶν τοσούτων εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἀλλ' εἰ καί τις αὐτοῦ κατεφρόνει πρότερον ἀσθενοῦς καὶ γέροντος ὁρωμένου, τότε πᾶσι φρικώδης καὶ φοβερὸς ἐγένετο.

XVI. Βουλόμενος δὲ τῆς περὶ τὰς δωρεὰς ἀμετρίας καὶ πολυτελείας τοῦ Νέρωνος ἀποδεικνύναι μεγάλην μεταβολήν, ἀστοχεῖν ἐδόκει τοῦ πρέποντος. Κάνου γὰρ αὐλήσαντος αὐτῷ παρὰ 1060
δεῖπνον (ἀκρόαμα δὲ ἦν ὁ Κάνος εὐδοκιμούμενον) ἐπαινέσας καὶ ἀποδεξάμενος ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ κομισθῆναι τὸ γλωσσόκομον· καὶ λαβὼν χρυσοῦς τινας ἐπέδωκε τῷ Κάνῳ, φήσας ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, οὐκ
2 ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων χαρίζεσθαι. τὰς δὲ δωρεὰς ἃς Νέρων ἔδωκε τοῖς περὶ σκηνὴν καὶ παλαίστραν, ἀπαιτεῖσθαι συντόνως κελεύσας πλὴν τοῦ δεκάτου μέρους, εἶτα μικρὰ καὶ γλίσχρα κομιζόμενος (ἀνηλώκεσαν γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν λαβόντων, ἐφήμεροι καὶ σατυρικοὶ τοῖς βίοις ἄνθρωποι) τοὺς πριαμένους παρ' αὐτῶν ἢ λαβόντας ὁτιοῦν
3 ἀνεζήτει καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων ἐξέπραττε. τοῦ δὲ πράγματος ὅρον οὐκ ἔχοντος, ἀλλὰ πόρρω νεμομένου καὶ προϊόντος ἐπὶ πολλούς, αὐτὸς μὲν

that the postponement was merely a way of refusing their demands, and were incensed, and followed along with unremitted shouts. Some actually drew their swords, and then Galba ordered his horsemen to charge upon them. Not a man of them stood his ground, but some were done to death at once in the rout, and others as they fled, nor was it a happy and auspicious omen that Galba should enter the city through so much slaughter and so many dead bodies. But whereas many had before this despised him and looked upon him as a weak old man, now all regarded him with shuddering fear.

XVI. And now, in his desire to display a great change from Nero's immoderate and extravagant manner of giving, he was thought to fall short of what was fitting. For example, after Canus had played on the flute for him at a banquet (now Canus was a performer of high repute), he was loud in his praises and ordered his purse to be brought to him; and taking from it a few gold pieces, he gave them to Canus, with the remark that the gift was made from his own, and not from the public moneys. Again, he ordered that the gifts which Nero had made to people of the theatre and palaestra should be demanded back again with strictness, all but the tenth part; and then, when he got only slight and grudging returns (for most of the recipients had squandered their largess, being men of a loose and improvident way of living), he had a search made for such as had bought or received anything whatsoever from them, and tried to exact it from these. The business had no limits, but was far extended and affected many; it gave the emperor himself a bad

ἠδόξει, φθόνον δὲ καὶ μῖσος εἶχεν Οὐίνιος, ὡς τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀνελεύθερον παρέχων τὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ μικρολόγον, αὐτὸς δὲ χρώμενος ἀσώτως καὶ λαμβάνων πάντα καὶ πιπράσκων.
4 *ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἡσίοδος*

ἀρχομένου τε πίθου καὶ λήγοντος κορέσασθαι

φησὶ δεῖν, ὁ δὲ Οὐίνιος ὁρῶν ἀσθενῆ καὶ γέροντα τὸν Γάλβαν ἐνεπίμπλατο τῆς τύχης, ὡς ἅμα μὲν ἀρχομένης, ἅμα δὲ φθινούσης.

XVII. Ὁ *δὲ πρεσβύτης ἠδικεῖτο τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τοῦ Οὐινίου κακῶς διοικοῦντος, ἃ δὲ αὐτὸς ὀρθῶς προῃρεῖτο διαβάλλοντος ἢ κωλύοντος· οἷον ἦν τὸ περὶ τὰς κολάσεις τῶν Νερωνιανῶν.*
2 *ἀπέκτεινε γὰρ τοὺς πονηρούς, ἐν οἷς ἦν ὁ Ἥλιος καὶ Πολύκλειτος καὶ Πετῖνος καὶ Πατρόβιος. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐκρότει, καὶ δι' ἀγορᾶς αὐτῶν ἀγομένων ἐβόα καλὴν μὲν εἶναι καὶ θεοφιλῆ πομπήν, ἀπαιτεῖν δὲ καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους τὸν διδάσκαλον καὶ παιδαγωγὸν τῆς τυραννίδος Τιγελλῖνον. ἐφθάκει δὲ ὁ γενναῖος προειληφὼς ἀρραβῶσι*
3 *μεγάλοις τὸν Οὐίνιον. εἶτα Τουρπιλιανὸς μέν, ὅτι μὴ προεδίδου μηδὲ ἐμίσει τὸν ἡγεμόνα τοιοῦτον ὄντα μισούμενος, ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲ ἓν μέγα συναδικήσας, ἀπέθανεν· ὁ δὲ καὶ ποιήσας ἄξιον θανάτου Νέρωνα καὶ γενόμενον τοιοῦτον ἐγκαταλιπὼν καὶ προδοὺς περιῆν, μέγα δίδαγμα*

[1] *Works and Days*, 366.

name, and brought envy and hatred upon Vinius as having made the emperor ungenerous and sordid with everybody else, while he himself used money lavishly, taking everything that was offered and selling freely. For Hesiod [1] bids men to

"Drink without stint at the beginning and end of the cask,"

and so Vinius, seeing that Galba was old and feeble, sated himself with the good fortune which he thought was just beginning and at the same time was soon to end.

XVII. But the aged emperor suffered injustice not only when Vinius, as at first, administered affairs badly, but also when he brought into odium or prevented wise measures set on foot by Galba himself; as, for instance, in the matter of punishing the adherents of Nero. For Galba set out to kill the bad ones, among whom were Helius and Polycleitus and Petinus and Patrobius. And the people applauded the act, and shouted, as the culprits were dragged through the forum to their doom, that it was a goodly procession indeed, and acceptable to the gods, but that gods and men alike demanded justice on the tutor and teacher of the tyrant, namely, Tigellinus. That worthy minister, however, had won the protection of Vinius betimes, by means of large advances. Again, Turpilianus, who was hated merely because he would not betray nor show hatred to Nero in spite of all that emperor's crimes, but apart from this had participated in no one serious offence, was put to death; whereas the man who had made Nero worthy of death, and betrayed and forsook him when he had come to that pass, was left alive – a great

τοῦ μηδὲν ἄπρακτον εἶναι παρὰ Οὐινίῳ μηδὲ
4 ἀνέλπιστον τοῖς διδοῦσιν. οὐδενὸς γὰρ οὕτω θεάματος ἐρασθεὶς ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος ὡς τοῦ Τιγελλίνου ἰδεῖν ἀπαγόμενον, οὐδὲ παυσάμενος ἐν πᾶσι θεάτροις καὶ σταδίοις αἰτούμενος ἐκεῖνον, ἐπεπλήχθη διαγράμματι τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος Τιγελλῖνον μὲν οὐ πολὺν ἔτι βιώσεσθαι φάσκοντος χρόνον ὑπὸ φθινάδος νόσου δαπανώμενον, ἐκείνους δὲ παραιτουμένου μὴ διαγριαίνειν
5 μηδὲ τυραννικὴν ποιεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. ἀχθομένου δὲ τοῦ δήμου καταγελῶντες ὁ μὲν Τιγελλῖνος ἔθυσε σωτήρια καὶ παρεσκεύασε λαμπρὰν ἑστίασιν, ὁ δὲ Οὐίνιος ἀναστὰς παρὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος μετὰ δεῖπνον ἐκώμασεν ὡς ἐκεῖνον, ἄγων τὴν θυγατέρα χήραν οὖσαν. καὶ προὔπιεν ὁ Τιγελλῖνος αὐτῇ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδας ἀργυρίου, καὶ τῶν παλλακίδων τὴν ἀγελαρχοῦσαν ἐκέλευσε τὸν περιδέραιον κόσμον ἀφελομένην ἐκείνῃ περιάψαι, πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδων εἶναι λεγόμενον.

XVIII. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου καὶ τὰ μετρίως πραττόμενα διαβολὴν εἶχεν, ὡς τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Γαλάτας Οὐίνδικι συναραμένους. ἐδόκουν γὰρ οὐ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, ἀλλὰ ὠνούμενοι παρὰ Οὐινίου τυγχάνειν ἀνέσεώς τε δασμῶν καὶ
2 πολιτείας. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ διὰ ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπηχθάνοντο, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας τὴν δωρεὰν μὴ κομιζομένους ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ἐλπὶς παρῆγεν ὡς, εἰ καὶ μὴ τοσοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὅσον

object-lesson to show that Vinius could do anything and fulfil any expectation for those who gave him enough. For there was no spectacle on which the Roman people had so set their hearts as that of Tigellinus dragged away to punishment, and in all the theatres and circuses they would not cease demanding him, until they were quelled by an edict of the emperor in which he declared that Tigellinus was wasting away with consumption and had not much longer to live, and advised them not to exasperate the government or force it to be tyrannical. Then, in mockery of the dissatisfied people, Tigellinus offered sacrifices for his preservation and prepared a splendid feast; and Vinius, rising from beside the emperor, afterwards went to a drinking-bout in Tigellinus' house, leading his daughter, who was a widow. Tigellinus pledged her health with a gift of twenty-five myriads of money,[1] and ordered the governess of his concubines to take the necklace from her own neck and put it about hers. The necklace was said to be worth fifteen myriads.

XVIII. After this, even the reasonable measures of the emperor fell under censure, as, for instance, his treatment of the Gauls who had conspired with Vindex. For they were thought to have obtained their remission of tribute and their civil rights, not through the kindness of the emperor, but by purchase from Vinius. Such were the reasons, then, why most of the people hated the government; but the soldiers, though they had not received their promised largess, were led on at first by the hope that Galba would give them, if not the whole of it, at least as much as

[1] See the note on Chap. ii. 2.

Νέρων ἔδωκεν, ἀποδώσοντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ μεμφομένους ἀκούσας ἀφῆκε φωνὴν ἡγεμόνι μεγάλῳ πρέπουσαν, εἰπὼν εἰωθέναι καταλέγειν στρατιώτας, οὐκ ἀγοράζειν, πυθομένοις τοῦτο δεινὸν εἰσῆλθε 106
μῖσος καὶ ἄγριον πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐδόκει γὰρ οὐκ αὐτὸς ἀποστερεῖν μόνος, ἀλλὰ νομοθετεῖν καὶ διδάσκειν τοὺς μεθ' αὐτὸν αὐτοκράτορας.

3 Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν[1] ἐν Ῥώμῃ τυφλὸν ἦν ἔτι κίνημα, καί τις αἰδὼς ἅμα πρὸς παρόντα τὸν Γάλβαν ἀμβλύτητα καὶ μέλλησιν ἐνεποίει τῷ νεωτερισμῷ, καὶ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἀρχὴν ἐμφανῆ μεταβολῆς ὁρᾶσθαι συνέστελλε καὶ συνέκρυπτεν ἁμῶς γέ πως τὴν δυσμένειαν αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ πρότερον ὑπὸ Οὐεργινίῳ γενόμενοι, τότε δ' ὄντες ὑπὸ Φλάκκῳ περὶ Γερμανίαν, μεγάλων μὲν ἀξιοῦντες αὑτοὺς διὰ τὴν μάχην ἣν ἐμαχέσαντο πρὸς Οὐίνδικα, μηδενὸς δὲ τυγχάνοντες, ἀπαρηγόρητοι τοῖς
4 ἄρχουσιν ἦσαν. αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Φλάκκον ὑπὸ συντόνου ποδάγρας ἀδύνατον ὄντα τῷ σώματι καὶ πραγμάτων ἄπειρον ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τὸ παράπαν ἐποιοῦντο. καί ποτε θέας οὔσης, καὶ τῶν χιλιάρχων καὶ λοχαγῶν τὸ Ῥωμαίοις σύνηθες εὐτυχίαν ἐπευχομένων τῷ αὐτοκράτορι Γάλβᾳ, διεθορύβησαν οἱ πολλοὶ τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἐπιμενόντων ἐκείνων ἀντεφώνουν "Εἰ ἄξιος."

XIX. Τοιαῦτα δὲ ἕτερα καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Τιγελλίνῳ ταγμάτων ὑβριζόντων πολλάκις, ἐπέμπετο γράμματα τῷ Γάλβᾳ παρὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων· ὁ δὲ φοβηθεὶς ὡς μὴ μόνον διὰ τὸ γῆρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ

[1] τὸ μὲν Coraës and Bekker have τῶν μὲν, the correction of Reiske.

Nero had given. When, however, Galba heard that they were complaining, he spoke out as became a great emperor, and declared that it was his custom to enroll soldiers, not to buy them; whereupon they began to cherish a dire and savage hatred towards him. For they thought that he was not only defrauding them himself, but laying down the law and giving instructions for succeeding emperors.

But the agitation at Rome was still smouldering, and at the same time a certain respect for Galba's presence blunted and delayed the spirit of revolution, and the absence of any manifest occasion for a change repressed and kept under cover, somehow or other, the resentment of the soldiers. But the army which had formerly served under Verginius, and was now serving under Flaccus in Germany, thinking themselves deserving of great rewards on account of the battle they had fought against Vindex, and getting nothing, could not be appeased by their officers. Of Flaccus himself, who was physically incapacitated by an acute gout, and inexperienced in the conduct of affairs, they made no account whatever. And once at a spectacle, when the military tribunes and centurions, after the Roman custom, invoked health and happiness upon the emperor Galba, the mass of the soldiery raised a storm of dissent at first, and then, when the officers persisted in their invocation, cried out in response, "If he deserves it."

XIX. The legions also that were under the command of Tigellinus frequently behaved with similar insolence, and letters on the subject were sent to Galba by his agents. So the emperor, fearing that it was not only his old age but also his

διὰ τὴν ἀπαιδίαν καταφρονούμενος, ἐβουλεύετο παῖδα θέσθαι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν τινα νεανίσκον καὶ
2 διάδοχον ἀποδεῖξαι τῆς ἀρχῆς. ἦν δὲ Μάρκος Ὄθων, ἀνὴρ γένει μὲν οὐκ ἀφανής, τρυφῇ δὲ καὶ φιληδονίαις εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων ἐν ὀλίγοις Ῥωμαίων διεφθαρμένος. ὡς δὲ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον Ὅμηρος "Ἑλένης πόσιν ἠϋκόμοιο," μηδὲν ἔχοντα πρὸς δόξαν ἄλλο σεμνύνων ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικός, ὀνομάζει πολλάκις, οὕτως γεγονὼς περιβόητος ἐν Ῥώμῃ διὰ τὸν Ποππαίας γάμον, ἧς ἤρα μὲν ὁ Νέρων Κρισπίνῳ συνούσης, ἔτι δ' αἰδούμενος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν μητέρα φοβούμενος ὑφῆκε τὸν
3 Ὄθωνα πειρῶντα τὴν Ποππαίαν. φίλῳ δὲ τῷ Ὄθωνι καὶ συμβιωτῇ διὰ τὴν ἀσωτίαν ἐχρῆτο, καὶ σκωπτόμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πολλάκις εἰς μικρολογίαν καὶ ἀνελευθερίαν ἔχαιρε. λέγεται δέ ποτε μύρῳ τῶν πολυτελῶν χρισαμένου τοῦ Νέρωνος καὶ τὸν Ὄθωνα καταβρέξαντος, ἐκεῖνος πάλιν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ δεχόμενος αὐτὸν ἅμα πολλαχόθεν ἀργυροῦς καὶ χρυσοῦς προβαλεῖν ἄφνω σωλῆνας, ὥσπερ ὕδωρ τὸ μύρον ἐκχέοντας καὶ
4 κατακλύζοντας. ἀλλὰ τήν γε Ποππαίαν προμοιχεύσας τῷ Νέρωνι, καὶ διαφθείρας ταῖς εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἐλπίσιν, ἔπεισεν ἀποστῆναι τοῦ ἀνδρός. ἐλθούσης δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν ὡς γαμετῆς οὐκ ἠγάπα μετέχων, ἀλλ' ἤσχαλλε μεταδιδούς, οὐδὲ αὐτῆς ἀχθομένης, ὥς φασι, τῇ ζηλοτυπίᾳ τῆς Ποππαίας.
5 καὶ γὰρ ἀποκλεῖσαι τὸν Νέρωνα λέγεται μὴ παρόντος τοῦ Ὄθωνος, εἴτε τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀφαιροῦσα τὸ πλήσμιον, εἴτε, ὥς φασιν ἔνιοι, βαρυνομένη

childlessness that brought him into contempt, planned to adopt some young man of illustrious family and appoint him his successor. Marcus Otho, now, was a man of good lineage, but from his very childhood corrupted by luxury and the pursuit of pleasure as few Romans were. And as Homer often calls Paris "the husband of fair-haired Helen," giving him a dignity borrowed from his wife, since he had no other title to fame, so Otho was celebrated at Rome for his marriage with Poppaea. With Poppaea Nero was enamoured while she was the wife of Crispinus, but since he respected his own wife still and feared his mother, he put Otho up to soliciting her favours for him. For because of Otho's lavish prodigality Nero made an intimate friend of him, and was well pleased to be rallied by him often for parsimony and meanness. Thus, we are told that Nero once anointed himself with a costly ointment and sprinkled a little of it upon Otho; whereupon Otho, entertaining the emperor in his turn on the following day, suddenly brought into play gold and silver pipes on all sides of the room, out of which the ointment gushed freely, like so much water. But as for Poppaea, Otho corrupted her with hopes of Nero's favour and seduced her first himself, and persuaded her to leave her husband. However, after she had come to live with him as his wife, he was not content to have only a share in her favours, and was loth to give Nero a share, while Poppaea herself, as we are told, was not displeased at the rivalry between them. For it is said that she would shut out Nero although Otho was not at home; whether it was that she sought to keep his pleasure in her from cloying, or whether, as some

τὸν Καίσαρος γάμον, ἐραστῇ δὲ μὴ φεύγουσα
χρῆσθαι διὰ τὸ φιλακόλαστον. ἐκινδύνευσεν
οὖν ὁ Ὄθων ἀποθανεῖν· καὶ παράλογον ἦν ὅτι
τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ἀδελφὴν ἀποκτείνας διὰ τὸν
Ποππαίας γάμον ἐφείσατο τοῦ Ὄθωνος.

XX. Σενέκαν δὲ εἶχεν εὔνουν· κἀκείνου τὸν
Νέρωνα πείσαντος καὶ παραινέσαντος ἐξεπέμφθη
Λυσιτανῶν στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Ὠκεανόν. καὶ
παρέσχεν ἑαυτὸν οὐκ ἄχαριν οὐδὲ ἐπαχθῆ τοῖς
ὑπηκόοις, εἰδὼς φυγῆς ὑποκόρισμα καὶ παρακά-
2 λυμμα τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ δεδομένην. ἀποστάντος
δὲ Γάλβα πρῶτος αὐτῷ[1] προσεχώρησε τῶν
ἡγεμόνων, καὶ φέρων ὅσον εἶχεν ἐν ἐκπώμασι καὶ
τραπέζαις ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσὸν ἔδωκε κατακόψαι
ποιουμένῳ νόμισμα, καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐδωρήσατο 1062
τοὺς εἰθισμένους περὶ δίαιταν ἡγεμόνι ἐμμελῶς
ὑπουργεῖν. καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πιστὸς ἦν αὐτῷ, καὶ
διδοὺς πεῖραν οὐδενὸς ἧττον ἐδόκει πραγμάτων
ἔμπειρος εἶναι· καὶ βαδίζοντι τὴν ὁδὸν ἅπασαν
ἐφ' ἡμέρας πολλὰς συνοχούμενος διετέλεσεν.
3 ἐν δὲ τῇ συνοδίᾳ καὶ τῇ συνηθείᾳ τὸν Οὐίνιον
ἐξεθεράπευσεν ὁμιλίᾳ καὶ δώροις, μάλιστα δὲ
τῶν πρωτείων ὑφιέμενος αὐτῷ τό γε μετ' ἐκεῖνον
δύνασθαι δι' ἐκεῖνον εἶχε βεβαίως. τῷ δὲ ἀν-
επιφθόνῳ περιῆν, προῖκα συμπράττων πάντα τοῖς
δεομένοις, καὶ παρέχων ἑαυτὸν εὐπροσήγορον καὶ
φιλάνθρωπον ἅπασι. πλεῖστα δὲ τοῖς στρατιω-
τικοῖς συνελάμβανε καὶ προῆγε πολλοὺς ἐφ'

[1] αὐτῷ Coraës and Bekker, after Du Soul: αὐτός.

[1] Cf. Tacitus, *Annals*, xiii. 45 f.

say, she recoiled from a marriage with the emperor, but was not averse to having him as a lover, out of mere wantonness. Otho, accordingly, came into peril of his life; and it was strange that although his own wife and sister were put to death by Nero on account of his marriage with Poppaea, Otho himself was spared.[1]

XX. But Otho had the good will of Seneca, by whose advice and persuasion Nero sent him out as governor of Lusitania to the shores of the western ocean. Here he made himself acceptable and pleasing to his subjects, although he knew that his office had been given him to disguise and mitigate his banishment. When Galba revolted, Otho was the first of the provincial governors to go over to him, and bringing all the gold and silver that he had in the shape of drinking-cups and tables, he gave it to him for conversion into coin, presenting him also with those of his servants who were qualified to give suitable service for the table of an emperor. In other ways he was trusted by Galba, and when put to the test was thought to be inferior to none as a man of affairs; and during the entire journey of the emperor he would travel in the same carriage with him for many days together. Moreover, amid the intimacies of the common journey he paid court to Vinius, both in person and by means of gifts, and, above all else, by yielding to him the first place, he got his aid in holding securely the place of influence next to him. But in avoiding envy he was superior to Vinius, for he gave his petitioners every aid without any reward, and showed himself easy of access and kindly to all men. But it was the soldiers whom he was most ready to help, and he advanced many of

ἡγεμονίας, τὰ μὲν αἰτούμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκρά-
4 τορος, τὰ δὲ τὸν Οὐίνιον καὶ τοὺς ἀπελευθέρους παρακαλῶν Ἴκελον καὶ Ἀσιατικόν· οὗτοι γὰρ ἦσαν ἐν δυνάμει μάλιστα τῶν περὶ τὴν αὐλήν. ὁσάκις δὲ τὸν Γάλβαν εἱστία, τὴν παραφυλάττουσαν ἀεὶ σπεῖραν ἐδέκαζε χρυσοῦν ἑκάστῳ διανέμων, οἷς τιμᾶν αὐτὸν ἐδόκει καταπολιτευόμενος καὶ δημαγωγῶν τὸ στρατιωτικόν.

XXI. Ἀλλ' οὖν βουλευομένου γε τοῦ Γάλβα περὶ διαδόχου τὸν Ὄθωνα παρεισῆγεν ὁ Οὐίνιος, οὐδὲ τοῦτο προῖκα πράσσων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γάμῳ τῆς θυγατρός, ὁμολογίας γενομένης γαμεῖν αὐτὴν τὸν Ὄθωνα παῖδα τοῦ Γάλβα καὶ διάδοχον ἀποδειχθέντα τῆς ἡγεμονίας. ὁ δὲ Γάλβας ἀεὶ μὲν ἦν δῆλος πρὸ τοῦ ἰδίου τὸ κοινὸν τιθέμενος καὶ ζητῶν οὐχ αὑτῷ θέσθαι τὸν ἥδιστον, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαίοις
2 τὸν ὠφελιμώτατον. δοκεῖ δὲ μηδ' ἂν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις χρήμασι μόνον ἑλέσθαι τὸν Ὄθωνα κληρονόμον, ἀκόλαστον εἰδὼς καὶ πολυτελῆ καὶ πεντακισχιλίων μυριάδων ὀφλήμασι βεβαπτισμένον. ὅθεν ἀκούσας τοῦ Οὐινίου σιωπῇ καὶ πρᾴως ὑπερέθετο τὴν διάθεσιν. ἀποδείξας δ' αὑτὸν ὕπατον καὶ συνάρχοντα τὸν Οὐίνιον ἐπίδοξος ἦν ἔτους ἀρχῇ τὸν διάδοχον ἀναγορεύσειν· καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἡδέως εἶχε τὸν Ὄθωνα παρ' ὁντινοῦν ἄλλον ἀναγορευθῆναι.

XXII. Καταλαμβάνει δ' αὐτὸν ἔτι μέλλοντα

[1] See the note on Chap. ii. 2.

them to places of command, sometimes asking the appointment from the emperor, and sometimes getting the support of Vinius, and of the freedmen Icelus and Asiaticus; for these were the most influential men at court. And as often as he entertained Galba, he would compliment the cohort on duty for the day by giving each man a gold piece, thus showing honour to the emperor, as it was thought, while really scheming for the support and favour of the soldiery.

XXI. So, then, while Galba was deliberating upon a successor, Vinius suggested Otho. And yet not even this was done for nothing, but as a return for the marriage of his daughter. For it had been agreed that Otho should marry her when he had been adopted by Galba and declared his successor. But Galba always showed clearly that he placed the public good before his private interests, and in the present case that he aimed to adopt, not the man who was most agreeable to himself, but the one who would be most serviceable to the Romans. And it does not seem that he would have chosen Otho merely as the heir of his own private fortune, since he knew that he was unrestrained and extravagant and immersed in debts amounting to five millions.[1] Wherefore, after listening to Vinius calmly and without a word, he postponed his decision. But he appointed himself and Vinius consuls for the following year, and it was expected that on their accession to office he would declare his successor. And the soldiery would have been glad that Otho, rather than anyone else, should be so declared.

XXII. But while the emperor was hesitating and deliberating, he was overtaken by the dis-

καὶ βουλευόμενον ἐκραγέντα τὰ Γερμανικά. κοινῇ γὰρ ἅπαντες οἱ στρατευόμενοι τὸν Γάλβαν ἐμίσουν οὐκ ἀποδιδόντα τὴν δωρεάν, ἰδίας δὲ ἐκεῖνοι προφάσεις ἐποιοῦντο Οὐεργίνιόν τε Ῥοῦφον ἀπερριμμένον ἀτίμως καὶ Γαλατῶν τοὺς πολεμήσαντας
2 *αὐτοῖς δωρεῶν τυγχάνοντας, ὅσοι δὲ μὴ προσέθεντο Οὐίνδικι κολαζομένους, ᾧ μόνῳ τὸν Γάλβαν χάριν εἰδέναι καὶ τιμᾶν τεθνηκότα καὶ γεραίρειν δημοσίοις ἐναγισμοῖς, ὡς ὑπ' ἐκείνου Ῥωμαίων*
3 *ἀποδεδειγμένον αὐτοκράτορα. τοιούτων ἀναφανδὸν ἤδη λόγων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ περιφερομένων ἐπῆλθεν ἡ νουμηνία τοῦ πρώτου μηνός, ἣν καλάνδας Ἰανουαρίας καλοῦσι· τοῦ δὲ Φλάκκου συναγαγόντος αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ὅρκον ὃν ἔθος ἐστὶν ὀμνύειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, τὰς μὲν εἰκόνας τοῦ Γάλβα προσελθόντες ἀνέτρεψαν καὶ κατέσπασαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ὀμόσαντες ὑπὲρ συγκλήτου καὶ*
4 *δήμου Ῥωμαίων διελύθησαν. εἶτα τοῖς ἡγεμονικοῖς παρίστατο δεδοικέναι τὴν ἀναρχίαν ὡς ἀπόστασιν. λέγει δέ τις ἐν αὐτοῖς· "Τί πάσχομεν, ὦ συστρατιῶται, μήτ' ἄλλον ἡγεμόνα ποιούμενοι μήτε τὸν νῦν ὄντα φυλάττοντες, ὥσπερ οὐ Γάλβαν, ἀλλ' ὅλως ἄρχοντα καὶ τὸ ἄρχεσθαι*
5 *φεύγοντες; Φλάκκον μὲν οὖν Ὁρδεώνιον οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ σκιὰν ὄντα Γάλβα καὶ εἴδωλον ἐατέον, ἡμέρας δὲ μιᾶς ὁδὸν ἀφέστηκεν ἡμῶν Οὐϊτέλλιος, ὁ τῆς ἑτέρας Γερμανίας ἡγούμενος, πατρός τε τιμητοῦ καὶ τρὶς ὑπάτου γενομένου καὶ Κλαυδίῳ* 103 *Καίσαρι τρόπον τινὰ συνάρξαντος, αὐτός τε τὴν*

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[1] See Chap. iv. 3.

orders which broke out among the troops in Germany. For the soldiers in all parts of the empire had a common hatred of Galba because he had not given them their usual largess, but those in Germany made special excuses for themselves out of the fact that Verginius Rufus had been cast off in dishonour; that the Gauls who had fought against them were getting rewards, while all those who had not joined Vindex were being punished; and that to Vindex alone Galba showed gratitude by honouring him when he was dead and giving him the distinction of public obsequies, on the ground that Vindex had proclaimed him emperor of the Romans.[1] Such arguments as these were already circulating openly in the camp, when the first day of the first month came, which the Romans call the Calends of January. On this day Flaccus assembled the soldiers that they might take the customary oath of allegiance to the emperor; but they overturned and pulled down all the statues of Galba which they could find, and after swearing allegiance to the senate and people of Rome, went to their quarters. Then their officers began to fear that their lawless spirit might issue in revolt, and one of them made this speech: "What is wrong with us, my fellow soldiers? We are neither supporting the present emperor nor setting up another. It is as though we were averse, not to Galba, but to all rule and obedience. Flaccus Hordeonius, indeed, who is nothing but a shadow and image of Galba, we must ignore, but there is Vitellius, who is only a day's march distant from us, and commands the forces in the other Germany. His father was censor, thrice consul, and in a manner the colleague of Claudius Caesar, and

λοιδορουμένην ὑπ' ἐνίων πενίαν δεῖγμα λαμπρὸν ἔχων χρηστότητος καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνης. φέρε, τοῦτον ἑλόμενοι δείξωμεν ἀνθρώποις πᾶσιν ὡς Ἰβήρων καὶ Λυσιτανῶν ἀμείνους ἐσμὲν αὐτοκράτορα αἱρεῖσθαι."

6 Ταῦτα τῶν μὲν ἤδη προσιεμένων, τῶν δ' οὐ προσιεμένων, εἷς ὑπεξελθὼν σημαιοφόρος ἀπήγγειλε τῷ Οὐϊτελλίῳ νυκτός, ἑστιωμένων πολλῶν παρ' αὐτῷ. τοῦ δὲ λόγου διαπεσόντος εἰς τὰ στρατεύματα πρῶτος Φάβιος Οὐάλης, ἡγεμὼν ἑνὸς τάγματος, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ μετὰ ἱππέων συχνῶν ἐλάσας αὐτοκράτορα τὸν Οὐϊτέλλιον προσεῖπεν.
7 ὁ δὲ τὰς μὲν ἔμπροσθεν ἡμέρας ἐδόκει διωθεῖσθαι καὶ ἀναδύεσθαι, τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς φοβούμενος, τότε δέ φασιν οἴνου διάπλεων καὶ τροφῆς ὄντα μεσημβρινῆς προελθεῖν καὶ ὑπακοῦσαι Γερμανικὸν ὄνομα θεμένων αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ Καίσαρος
8 οὐ προσδεξάμενον. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ τὸ μετὰ Φλάκκου στράτευμα τοὺς καλοὺς ἐκείνους καὶ δημοκρατικοὺς εἰς σύγκλητον ὅρκους ἀφέντες ὤμοσαν Οὐϊτελλίῳ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ποιήσειν τὸ προστασσόμενον.

XXIII. Οὕτω μὲν ἀνηγορεύθη Οὐϊτέλλιος αὐτοκράτωρ ἐν Γερμανίᾳ. πυθόμενος δὲ τὸν ἐκεῖ νεωτερισμὸν ὁ Γάλβας οὐκέτι τὴν εἰσποίησιν ἀνεβάλλετο. γινώσκων δὲ τῶν φίλων ἐνίους μὲν ὑπὲρ Δολοβέλλα, τοὺς δὲ πλείστους ὑπὲρ Ὄθωνος ἀρχαιρεσιάζοντας, ὧν οὐδέτερον ἐδοκίμαζεν αὐτός, ἄφνω μηδὲν προειπὼν μετεπέμψατο Πείσωνα, Κράσσου καὶ Σκριβωνίας ἔκγονον, οὓς Νέρων
2 ἀνῃρήκει, νεανίαν ἐν τῇ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν εὐφυΐᾳ τὸ κόσμιον καὶ αὐστηρὸν ἐμφανέστατα

Vitellius himself, in the poverty with which some reproach him, affords a splendid proof of probity and magnanimity. Come, let us choose him, and so show the world that we know how to select an emperor better than Iberians and Lusitanians."

While some of the soldiers were already for adopting this proposal and others for rejecting it, one standard-bearer stole away and brought tidings of the matter by night to Vitellius, as he was entertaining many guests. The news spread swiftly to the troops, and first Fabius Valens, commander of a legion, rode up next day with a large body of horsemen and saluted Vitellius as emperor. Hitherto Vitellius had seemed to decline and avoid the office, fearing the magnitude of it; but on this day, as they say, being fortified with wine and a midday meal, he came out to the soldiers and accepted the title of Germanicus which they conferred upon him, though he rejected that of Caesar. And straightway the army with Flaccus also, casting aside those fine and democratic oaths of theirs to support the senate, took oath that they would obey the orders of Vitellius the emperor.

XXIII. Thus was Vitellius proclaimed emperor in Germany; and when Galba learned of the revolution there he no longer deferred his act of adoption. Knowing that some of his friends favoured the selection of Dolabella, and most of them that of Otho, neither of whom was approved by himself, he suddenly, and without any previous notice of his intention, sent for Piso (whose parents, Crassus and Scribonia, had been put to death by Nero), a young man in whose predisposition to every virtue the traits of gravity and decorum were most conspicuous; then

ἔχοντα· καὶ κατέβαινεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκεῖνον ἀποδείξων Καίσαρα καὶ διάδοχον. καίτοι μεγάλαι μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξιόντι διοσημίαι παρηκολούθουν, ἀρξαμένου δὲ τὰ μὲν λέγειν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, τὰ δὲ ἀναγινώσκειν, τοσαυτάκις ἐβρόντησε καὶ κατήστραψε, καὶ τοσοῦτος ὄμβρος καὶ ζόφος ἐξεχύθη εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὴν πόλιν, ὡς κατάδηλον εἶναι μὴ προσιέμενον μηδὲ ἐπαινοῦν τὸ δαιμόνιον γινομένην οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τὴν εἰσποίη-
3 σιν. ἦν δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὕπουλα καὶ σκυθρωπὰ μηδὲ τότε δωρεᾶς αὐτοῖς δοθείσης.

Τοῦ δὲ Πείσωνος οἱ παρόντες ἐθαύμασαν τῇ τε φωνῇ τεκμαιρόμενοι καὶ τῷ προσώπῳ τὸ τηλικαύτην χάριν ἀνεμπλήκτως, οὐ μὴν ἀναισθήτως δεχόμενον, ὥσπερ αὖ τοῦ Ὄθωνος ἐπεφαίνετο πολλὰ σημεῖα τῇ μορφῇ πικρῶς καὶ σὺν ὀργῇ τῆς ἐλπίδος τὴν ἀπότευξιν φέροντος, ἧς πρῶτος ἀξιωθεὶς καὶ τοῦ τυχεῖν ἐγγυτάτω γενόμενος τὸ μὴ τυχεῖν ἐποιεῖτο σημεῖον ἔχθους ἅμα καὶ κακο-
4 νοίας τοῦ Γάλβα πρὸς αὐτόν. ὅθεν οὐδὲ ἄφοβος ἦν περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Πείσωνα δεδιὼς καὶ τὸν Γάλβαν προβαλλόμενος καὶ τῷ Οὐινίῳ χαλεπαίνων ἀπῄει πολλῶν παθῶν πλήρης. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ ἐλπίζον ἐκλιπεῖν οὐδὲ ἀπαγορεῦσαι παντάπασιν εἴων οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντες ἀεὶ μάντεις καὶ Χαλδαῖοι, εἰς τὰ μάλιστα δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ἰσχυριζόμενος τῷ προειπεῖν πολλάκις ὡς οὐκ ἀποκτενεῖ Νέρων αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ τεθνήξεται πρότερος, αὐτὸς δὲ περιέσται καὶ ἄρξει Ῥωμαίων (ἐκεῖνο γὰρ

he went down to the camp to declare him Caesar and heir to the throne. And yet as soon as he set out, great signs from heaven accompanied him on his way, and after he had begun to pronounce and read his address to the soldiers, there were many peals of thunder and flashes of lightning, and much darkness and rain pervaded both the camp and the city, so that it was plain that the act of adoption was inauspicious and was not favoured or approved by the heavenly powers. The soldiers also were secretly disloyal and sullen, since not even then was their largess given to them.

As for Piso, those who were present at the scene and observed his voice and countenance were amazed to see him receive so great a favour without great emotion, though not without appreciation; whereas in the outward aspect of Otho there were many clear signs of the bitterness and anger with which he took the disappointment of his hopes. He had been the first to be thought worthy of the prize, and had come very near attaining it, and his not attaining it was regarded by him as a sign of ill-will and hatred on Galba's part towards him. Wherefore he was not without apprehension for the future, and fearing Piso, blaming Galba, and angry with Vinius, he went away full of various passions. For the soothsayers and Chaldaeans who were always about him would not suffer him to abandon his hopes or give up altogether, particularly Ptolemaeus, who dwelt much upon his frequent prediction that Nero would not kill Otho, but would die first himself, and that Otho would survive him and be emperor of the Romans (for now that he could point to the first part of the prediction as true, he thought that Otho

ἀληθὲς ἀποδείξας ἠξίου μηδὲ ταῦτα ἀπελπίζειν)· οὐχ ἥκιστα δ' οἱ συναχθόμενοι κρύφα καὶ συνεπιστένοντες ὡς ἀχάριστα πεπονθότι. πλεῖστοι δὲ τῶν περὶ Τιγελλῖνον καὶ Νυμφίδιον ἐν τιμῇ γεγονότων ἀπερριμμένοι τότε καὶ ταπεινὰ πράττοντες ἐφθείροντο πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ συνηγανάκτουν καὶ παρώξυνον.

XXIV. Ἐν δὲ τούτοις Οὐετούριος καὶ Βάρβιος, ὁ μὲν ὀπτίων, ὁ δὲ τεσσεράριος· οὕτω γὰρ καλοῦνται οἱ διαγγέλων καὶ διοπτήρων ὑπηρεσίας τελοῦντες. μεθ' ὧν Ὄθωνος ἀπελεύθερος Ὀνόμα- 106
στος ἐπιφοιτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἀργυρίῳ, τοὺς δὲ ἐλπίσι διέφθειρεν ἤδη σαθροὺς ὄντας καὶ δεομένους προφάσεως. οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἡμερῶν τεσσάρων ἔργον ὑγιαίνοντος στρατοπέδου μεταστῆσαι πίστιν, ὅσαι μεταξὺ τῆς εἰσποιήσεως ἐγένοντο καὶ τῆς σφαγῆς. ἕκτῃ γὰρ ἀνῃρέθησαν, ἣν ἄγουσι Ῥωμαῖοι πρὸ δεκαοκτὼ καλανδῶν Φεβρουαρίων.

2 Ἐκείνῃ γὰρ ἕωθεν εὐθὺς ὁ μὲν Γάλβας ἔθυεν ἐν Παλατίῳ τῶν φίλων παρόντων, ὁ δὲ θύτης Ὀμβρίκιος ἅμα τῷ λαβεῖν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τοῦ ἱερείου τὰ σπλάγχνα καὶ προσιδεῖν οὐ δι' αἰνιγμῶν, ἀλλ' ἄντικρυς ἔφη σημεῖα μεγάλης ταραχῆς, καὶ μετὰ δόλου κίνδυνον ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐπικείμενον τῷ αὐτοκράτορι, μονονουχὶ τὸν Ὄθωνα τοῦ θεοῦ
3 χειρὶ ληπτὸν παραδιδόντος. παρῆν γὰρ ὄπισθεν τοῦ Γάλβα, καὶ προσεῖχε τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ δεικνυμένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀμβρικίου. θορυβουμένῳ

[1] January 15th (A.D. xviii. Cal. Feb.), 68 A.D.

should not despair of the second part). Above all, Otho was encouraged by those who secretly shared his resentment and chagrin on the ground that he had been thanklessly treated. Moreover, most of the adherents of Tigellinus and Nymphidius, men who had once been in high honour, but were now cast aside and of no account, treacherously went over to Otho, shared his resentment, and spurred him on to action.

XXIV. Among these were Veturius and Barbius, the one an "optio," the other a "tesserarius" (these are the Roman names for *scout* and *messenger*). In company with these Onomastus, a freedman of Otho's, went round corrupting the soldiers, some with money, and others with fair promises. The soldiers were already disaffected and wanted only a pretext for treachery. For four days would not have sufficed to change the allegiance of a loyal army, and only so many days intervened between the act of adoption and the murder, since on the sixth day after the adoption (the Romans call it the eighteenth before the Calends of February [1]), Galba and Piso were slain.

On that day, shortly after dawn, Galba was sacrificing in the Palatium in the presence of his friends; and as soon as Umbricius, the officiating priest, had taken the entrails of the victim in his hands and inspected them, he declared not ambiguously, but in so many words, that there were signs of a great commotion, and that peril mixed with treachery hung over the emperor's head. Thus the god all but delivered Otho over to arrest. For Otho was standing behind Galba, and noted what was said and pointed out by Umbricius. But

δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χρόας ἀμείβοντι παντοδαπὰς ὑπὸ δέους παραστὰς Ὀνόμαστος ἀπελεύθερος ἥκειν ἔφη καὶ περιμένειν αὐτὸν οἴκοι τοὺς ἀρχιτέκτονας. ἦν δὲ σύμβολον καιροῦ, πρὸς ὃν ἔδει ἀπαντῆσαι
4 τὸν Ὄθωνα τοῖς στρατιώταις. εἰπὼν οὖν, ὅτι παλαιὰν ἐωνημένος οἰκίαν βούλεται τὰ ὕποπτα δεῖξαι τοῖς πωληταῖς, ἀπῆλθε, καὶ διὰ τῆς Τιβερίου καλουμένης οἰκίας καταβὰς ἐβάδιζεν εἰς ἀγοράν, οὗ χρυσοῦς εἱστήκει κίων, εἰς ὃν αἱ τετμημέναι τῆς Ἰταλίας ὁδοὶ πᾶσαι τελευτῶσιν.

XXV. Ἐνταῦθα τοὺς πρώτους ἐκδεξαμένους αὐτὸν καὶ προσειπόντας αὐτοκράτορά φασι μὴ πλείους τριῶν καὶ εἴκοσι γενέσθαι. διό, καίπερ οὐ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος μαλακίαν καὶ θηλύτητα τῇ ψυχῇ διατεθρυμμένος, ἀλλὰ ἰταμὸς ὢν πρὸς
2 τὰ δεινὰ καὶ ἄτρεπτος, ἀπεδειλίασεν. οἱ δὲ παρόντες οὐκ εἴων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ξίφεσι γυμνοῖς περιϊόντες αὐτοῦ τὸ φορεῖον ἐκέλευον αἴρεσθαι, παραφθεγγομένου πολλάκις ἀπολωλέναι καὶ τοὺς φορειαφόρους ἐπιταχύνοντος. ἐξήκουον γὰρ ἔνιοι θαυμάζοντες μᾶλλον ἢ ταραττόμενοι διὰ τὴν ὀλιγότητα τῶν ἀποτετολμημένων. φερομένῳ δὲ οὕτω δι' ἀγορᾶς ἀπήντησαν ἕτεροι τοσοῦτοι, καὶ πάλιν κατὰ τρεῖς καὶ τέτταρας ἄλλοι προσεπέ-
3 λαζον. εἶτα συνανέστρεφον ἅπαντες ἀνακαλούμενοι Καίσαρα καὶ γυμνὰ τὰ ξίφη προϊσχόμενοι. τῶν δὲ χιλιάρχων ὁ τὴν φυλακὴν ἔχων τοῦ στρατοπέδου Μαρτίαλις, ὥς φασι, μὴ συνειδώς, ἐκπλαγεὶς δὲ τῷ ἀπροσδοκήτῳ καὶ φοβηθεὶς

as he stood there in confusion and with a countenance changing to all sorts of colours through fear, Onomastus his freedman came up and told him that the builders were come and were waiting for him at his house. Now, this was a token that the time was at hand when Otho was to meet the soldiers. With the remark, then, that he had bought an old house and wished to show its defects to the vendors, he went away, and passing through what was called the house of Tiberius, went down into the forum, to where a gilded column stood, at which all the roads that intersect Italy terminate.

XXV. Here, as we are told, the soldiers who first welcomed him and saluted him as emperor were no more than twenty-three. Therefore, although he was not sunken in spirit to match the weakness and effeminacy of his body, but was bold and adventurous in presence of danger, he began to be afraid. The soldiers who were there, however, would not suffer him to desist, but surrounding his litter with their swords drawn, ordered it to be taken up, while Otho urged the bearers to hasten, saying to himself many times that he was a lost man. For he was overheard by some of the bystanders, and they were astonished rather than disturbed, owing to the small number of those who had ventured upon the deed. But as he was thus borne through the forum, he was met by as many more soldiers, and others again kept joining the party by threes and fours. Then all crowded around the litter, saluting Otho as emperor and brandishing their drawn swords. At the camp, Martialis, the military tribune in charge of the watch at the time, who was not privy to the plot, as they say, but was confounded by their unexpected

ἐφῆκεν εἰσελθεῖν. γενομένῳ δὲ ἐντὸς οὐδεὶς ἀντέπεσεν. οἱ γὰρ ἀγνοοῦντες τὰ πραττόμενα τοῖς εἰδόσι καὶ συνεστῶσιν ἐκ παρασκευῆς ἐμπεριεχόμενοι καθ' ἕνα καὶ δύο σποράδες, ὑπὸ δέους τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα πεισθέντες ἐπηκολούθησαν.

4 Εἰς δὲ τὸ Παλάτιον εὐθὺς μὲν ἀπηγγέλη τῷ Γάλβᾳ παρόντος ἔτι τοῦ θύτου καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐν χερσὶν ὄντων, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς πάνυ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα δυσπειθῶς καὶ ἀτενῶς ἔχοντας ἐκπλήττεσθαι καὶ θαυμάζειν τὸ θεῖον· ὄχλου δὲ παντοδαποῦ συρρέοντος ἐξ ἀγορᾶς, αὐτῷ μὲν Οὐίνιος καὶ Λάκων καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἔνιοι γυμνὰ τὰ ξίφη προϊσχόμενοι παρέστησαν, ὁ δὲ Πείσων προελθὼν τοῖς φυλάττουσι τὴν αὐλὴν δορυφόροις
5 ἐνετύγχανε. τοῦ δ' Ἰλλυρικοῦ τάγματος ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ παστάδι Βιψανίᾳ στρατοπεδεύοντος ἀπεστάλη Μάριος Κέλσος, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, προκαταληψόμενος.

XXVI. Βουλευομένου δὲ τοῦ Γάλβα προελθεῖν, καὶ Οὐινίου μὲν οὐκ ἐῶντος, Κέλσου δὲ καὶ Λάκωνος παρορμώντων καὶ σφοδρότερον τοῦ Οὐινίου καθαπτομένων, θροῦς διῆλθε πολὺς ὡς ἀνῃρημένου τοῦ Ὄθωνος ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ· καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ὤφθη Ἰούλιος Ἄττικος τῶν οὐκ ἀσήμων ἐν τοῖς δορυφόροις στρατευόμενος γυμνῷ τῷ ξίφει προσφερόμενος καὶ βοῶν ἀνῃρηκέναι τὸν Καίσαρος πολέμιον· ὠσάμενος δὲ διὰ τῶν προεστώτων 1065
2 ἔδειξε τῷ Γάλβᾳ τὸ ξίφος ᾑμαγμένον. ὁ δὲ βλέψας πρὸς αὐτόν, "Τίς σε," εἶπεν, "ἐκέλευσε;" τοῦ δὲ ἀνθρώπου τὴν πίστιν εἰπόντος καὶ τὸν

appearance and terrified, permitted them to enter. And after Otho was inside the camp, no one opposed him. For those who were ignorant of what was going on, scattered about as they were by ones and twos, were designedly enveloped by those who knew and were privy to the plot, and so gave in their adherence, at first through fear, and then under persuasion.

News of this was carried at once to Galba in the Palatium and the priest was still standing there with the entrails in his hands, so that even men who were altogether indifferent and sceptical about such matters were confounded and filled with wonder at the divine portent. And now a motley crowd came streaming out from the forum; Vinius and Laco and some of the freedmen stood at Galba's side brandishing their naked swords; Piso went out and held conference with the guards on duty in the court; and Marius Celsus, a man of worth, was sent off to secure the allegiance of the Illyrian legion encamped in what was called the Vipsanian portico.

XXVI. And now, as Galba purposed to go forth, and Vinius would not permit it, while Celsus and Laco urged it and vehemently chided Vinius, a rumour spread insistently that Otho had been slain in the camp; and after a little, Julius Atticus, a soldier of distinction among the guards, was seen rushing up with his sword drawn, and crying out that he had slain the enemy of Caesar; and forcing his way through the crowd about Galba, he showed him his sword all stained with blood. Then Galba fixed his eyes upon him and said, "Who gave thee thy orders?" Whereupon the man replied that it was his fidelity and the oath that he had sworn, at

ὅρκον ὃν ὤμοσε, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπιβοῶντος ὡς εὖ, καὶ κροτοῦντος, ἐμβὰς εἰς τὸ φορεῖον ἐκομίζετο τῷ τε Διῒ θῦσαι καὶ φανῆναι τοῖς πολίταις βουλόμενος. ἐμβαλόντος δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, ὥσπερ τροπαία πνεύματος, ἀπήντησε φήμη κρα-
3 τεῖν τὸν Ὄθωνα τοῦ στρατεύματος. οἷα δὲ ἐν πλήθει τοσούτῳ, τῶν μὲν ἀναστρέφειν, τῶν δὲ προϊέναι, τῶν δὲ θαρρεῖν, τῶν δὲ ἀπιστεῖν βοώντων, καὶ τοῦ φορείου, καθάπερ ἐν κλύδωνι, δεῦρο κἀκεῖ διαφερομένου καὶ πυκνὸν ἀπονεύοντος, ἐφαίνοντο πρῶτον ἱππεῖς, εἶτα ὁπλῖται διὰ τῆς Παύλου βασιλικῆς προσφερόμενοι, μιᾷ φωνῇ μέγα
4 βοῶντες ἐκποδὼν ἵστασθαι τὸν ἰδιώτην. τῶν μὲν οὖν πολλῶν δρόμος ἦν, οὐ φυγῇ σκιδναμένων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὰς στοὰς καὶ τὰ μετέωρα τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ὥσπερ θέαν καταλαμβανόντων. Ἀτιλλίου δὲ Βεργελίωνος εἰκόνα Γάλβα προσουδίσαντος, ἀρχὴν τοῦ πολέμου ποιησάμενοι περιηκόντισαν τὸ φορεῖον· ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔτυχον αὐτοῦ, προσῆγον ἐσπασμένοις τοῖς ξίφεσιν. ἤμυνε δὲ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ ὑπέστη πλὴν ἑνὸς ἀνδρός, ὃν μόνον ἥλιος ἐπεῖδεν ἐν μυριάσι τοσαύταις ἄξιον τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγε-
5 μονίας· Σεμπρώνιος ἦν Δῆνσος ἑκατοντάρχης, οὐδὲν ἰδίᾳ χρηστὸν ὑπὸ Γάλβα πεπονθώς, τῷ δὲ καλῷ καὶ τῷ νόμῳ βοηθῶν προέστη τοῦ φορείου. καὶ τὸ κλῆμα πρῶτον, ᾧ κολάζουσιν ἑκατοντάρχαι τοὺς πληγῶν δεομένους, ἐπαράμενος τοῖς ἐπιφερομένοις ἐβόα καὶ διεκελεύετο φείδεσθαι τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος. ἔπειτα συμπλεκομένων αὐτῷ

which the multitude cried out that he had done well, and gave him their applause. Then Galba got into his litter and was carried forth, wishing to sacrifice to Jupiter and show himself to the citizens. But when he was come into the forum, there met him, like a change of wind, a report that Otho was master of the army. Then, as might be expected in so great a crowd, some cried out to him to turn back, others to go forward; some bade him to be of good courage, others urged him to be cautious; and so, while his litter was swept hither and thither, as in a surging sea, and often threatened to capsize, there came into view, first horsemen, and then men-at-arms, charging through the basilica of Paulus, and with one voice loudly ordering all private citizens out of their way. The multitude, accordingly, took to their heels, not scattering in flight, but seeking the porticoes and eminences of the forum, as if to get a view of a spectacle. Hostilities began with the overthrow of a statue of Galba by Attilius Vergilio, and then the soldiers hurled javelins at the litter; and since they failed to strike it, they advanced upon it with their swords drawn. No one opposed them or tried to defend the emperor, except one man, and he was the only one, among all the thousands there on whom the sun looked down, who was worthy of the Roman empire. This was Sempronius Densus, a centurion, and though he had received no special favours from Galba, yet in defence of honour and the law he took his stand in front of the litter. And first, lifting up the switch with which centurions punish soldiers deserving of stripes, he cried out to the assailants and ordered them to spare the emperor. Then, as they came to

σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἠμύνατο πολὺν χρόνον, ἕως τυφθεὶς τὰς ἰγνύας ἔπεσε.

XXVII. Τὸν δὲ Γάλβαν, ἀποκλιθέντος τοῦ φορείου περὶ τὸν Κουρτίου καλούμενον λάκκον, ἐκκυλισθέντα τεθωρακισμένον ἔτυπτον ἐπιδραμόντες. ὁ δὲ τὴν σφαγὴν προτείνας, "Δρᾶτε," εἶπεν, "εἰ τοῦτο τῷ δήμῳ Ῥωμαίων ἄμεινόν ἐστι."
2 πολλὰς μὲν οὖν ἔλαβε πληγὰς εἴς τε τὰ σκέλη καὶ τοὺς βραχίονας, ἀπέσφαξε δὲ αὐτόν, ὡς οἱ πλεῖστοι λέγουσι, Καμούριός τις ἐκ τοῦ πεντεκαιδεκάτου τάγματος. ἔνιοι δὲ Τερέντιον, οἱ δὲ Λεκάνιον ἱστοροῦσιν, οἱ δὲ Φάβιον Φάβουλον, ὃν καί φασιν ἀποκόψαντα τὴν κεφαλὴν κομίζειν τῷ ἱματίῳ συλλαβόντα, διὰ τὴν ψιλότητα δυσπερί-
3 ληπτον οὖσαν· ἔπειτα τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ κρύπτειν οὐκ ἐώντων, ἀλλ' ἐκφανῆ πᾶσι ποιεῖν τὴν ἀνδραγαθίαν, περιπείραντα περὶ λόγχην καὶ ἀναπήλαντα πρεσβύτου πρόσωπον, ἄρχοντός τε κοσμίου καὶ ἀρχιερέως καὶ ὑπάτου, δρόμῳ χωρεῖν, ὥσπερ αἱ βάκχαι, πολλάκις μεταστρεφόμενον, καὶ κραδαίνοντα τὴν λόγχην αἵματι καταρρεομένην.

Τὸν δ' Ὄθωνα, τῆς κεφαλῆς κομισθείσης, ἀνακραγεῖν λέγουσιν· "Οὐδέν ἐστι τοῦτο, ὦ συστρα-
4 τιῶται, τὴν Πείσωνός μοι κεφαλὴν δείξατε." μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ ἧκε κομιζομένη· τρωθεὶς γὰρ ἔφευγεν ὁ νεανίσκος, καὶ καταδιωχθεὶς ὑπὸ Μούρκου τινὸς ἀπεσφάγη πρὸς τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἑστίας. ἀπεσφάττετο δὲ καὶ Οὐίνιος ὁμολογῶν κοινωνὸς γεγονέναι τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Γάλβαν συνωμοσίας· ἐβόα γὰρ ἀποθνήσκειν παρὰ τὴν Ὄθωνος γνώμην. ἀλλὰ

close quarters with him, he drew his sword, and fought them off a long time, until he fell with a wound in the groin.

XXVII. The litter was upset at the place called Lacus Curtius, and there Galba tumbled out and lay in his corselet, while the soldiers ran up and struck at him. But he merely presented his neck to their swords, saying: "Do your work, if this is better for the Roman people." So, then, after receiving many wounds in his legs and arms, he was slain, as most writers state, by a certain Camurius, of the fifteenth legion. Some, however, ascribe his death to Terentius, others to Lecanius, and others still to Fabius Fabulus, who, they say, cut off Galba's head and was carrying it wrapped in his cloak, since its baldness made it difficult to grasp; then, since his companions would not suffer him to hide his deed of valour, but insisted on his displaying it to all eyes, he impaled on his spear and thrust on high the head of an aged man, who had been a temperate ruler, a high priest, and a consul, and ran with it, like a bacchanal,[1] whirling about often, and brandishing the spear all dripping with blood.

But Otho, as they say, when the head was brought to him, cried out: "This is nothing, fellow-soldiers; show me the head of Piso." And after a little it was brought to him; for the young man had been wounded and tried to escape, and a certain Murcus ran him down and slew him at the temple of Vesta Vinius also was slain, and he admitted himself a party to the conspiracy against Galba by crying out that he was put to death contrary to the wishes of

[1] So the Bacchanals with the head of Pentheus (Euripides, *Bacchae*, 1153 ff.).

γὰρ καὶ τούτου τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμόντες καὶ
Λάκωνος ἐκόμισαν πρὸς τὸν Ὄθωνα δωρεὰς αἰ-
5 τοῦντες. ὡς δέ φησιν Ἀρχίλοχος,

> ἑπτὰ γὰρ νεκρῶν πεσόντων, οὓς ἐμάρψαμεν ποσίν,
> χίλιοι φονῆες ἐσμέν,

οὕτως τότε πολλοὶ τοῦ φόνου μὴ συνεφαψά-
μενοι, χεῖρας δὲ καὶ ξίφη καθαιμάσσοντες ἐπε-
δείκνυντο καὶ δωρεὰς ᾔτουν βιβλία διδόντες τῷ
Ὄθωνι. εἴκοσι γοῦν καὶ ἑκατὸν εὑρέθησαν
ὕστερον ἐκ τῶν γραμματίων, οὓς ὁ Οὐϊτέλλιος
6 ἀναζητήσας ἅπαντας ἀπέκτεινεν. ἧκε δὲ καὶ
Μάριος Κέλσος εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν. καὶ πολ-
λῶν αὐτοῦ κατηγορούντων ὅτι τοὺς στρατιώτας
ἔπειθε τῷ Γάλβᾳ βοηθεῖν, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους
ἀποκτιννύειν βοῶντος, Ὄθων οὐκ ἐβούλετο· φο-
βούμενος δὲ ἀντιλέγειν οὐχ οὕτως ἔφη ταχέως 106
ἀποκτενεῖν αὐτόν· εἶναι γὰρ ἃ δεῖ πρότερον ἐκπυ-
θέσθαι παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρός. ἐκέλευσεν οὖν δήσαντας
φυλάττειν, καὶ παρέδωκε τοῖς μάλιστα πιστευ-
ομένοις.

XXVIII. Εὐθὺς δὲ βουλὴ συνεκαλεῖτο. καὶ
καθάπερ ἄλλοι γεγονότες ἢ θεῶν ἄλλων γεγονό-
των συνελθόντες ὤμνυον ὅρκον ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ὄθωνος,
ὃν αὐτὸς ὀμόσας οὐκ ἐτήρησε· καὶ Καίσαρα καὶ
Σεβαστὸν ἀνηγόρευον, ἔτι τῶν νεκρῶν ἀκεφάλων
ἐν ταῖς ὑπατικαῖς ἐσθῆσιν ἐρριμμένων ἐπὶ τῆς
2 ἀγορᾶς. ταῖς δὲ κεφαλαῖς ὡς οὐδὲν εἶχον ἔτι
χρῆσθαι, τὴν μὲν Οὐινίου τῇ θυγατρὶ δισχιλίων

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[1] Bergk, *Lyr. Gr.* Frag. ii.[4] p. 398.

Otho. However, they cut off his head, and Laco's too, and brought them to Otho, of whom they demanded largess. And as Archilochus says[1] that,

"Only seven lay dead on the ground, where we trod their bodies under foot. But we who slew are a thousand,"

so in this case, many who had no part in the murder smeared their hands and swords with blood and showed them to Otho, as they presented him with written petitions for largess. At any rate, a hundred and twenty were afterwards discovered by means of these petitions, all of whom were sought out and put to death by Vitellius. Marius Celsus also came into the camp. There many denounced him for trying to persuade the soldiers to defend Galba, and the majority clamoured for his death, but Otho did not wish it; however, since he was afraid to oppose them, he said he would not put Celsus to death so quickly, since there were matters about which he must first question him. He therefore ordered that he be fettered and kept under guard, and handed over to those in whom he put most trust.

XXVIII. A senate was at once convened. And as if they were now other men, or had other gods to swear by, they united in swearing an oath to support Otho—an oath which he himself had sworn in support of Galba, but had not kept. Moreover, they gave him the titles of Caesar and Augustus, while the dead bodies, all headless in their consular robes, were still strewn over the forum. And as for the heads, when they had no further use for them, that of Vinius they sold to his daughter for twenty-

καὶ πεντακοσίων δραχμῶν ἀπέδοντο, τὴν δὲ Πείσωνος ἡ γυνὴ ἔλαβεν Οὐερανία δεηθεῖσα, τὴν δὲ Γάλβα τοῖς Πατροβίου δούλοις ἐδωρήσαντο.
3 λαβόντες δὲ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ πάντα τρόπον αἰκισάμενοι καὶ καθυβρίσαντες ἔρριψαν ᾗ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν Καισάρων κολαζομένους θανατοῦσιν· ὁ δὲ τόπος Σεσσώριον καλεῖται. τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ Γάλβα Πρίσκος Ἑλβίδιος ἀνείλετο, τοῦ Ὄθωνος ἐπιτρέψαντος· ἔθαψε δὲ νυκτὸς Ἀργεῖος ἀπελεύθερος.

XXIX. Τοιαῦτα τὰ κατὰ τὸν Γάλβαν, ἄνδρα μήτε γένει μήτε πλούτῳ πολλῶν ἀπολειφθέντα Ῥωμαίων, ὁμοῦ δὲ πλούτῳ καὶ γένει πρωτεύσαντα πάντων τῶν καθ' αὑτόν, πέντε αὐτοκρατόρων ἡγεμονίαις ἐμβιώσαντα μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ δόξης, ὥστε τῇ δόξῃ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ δυνάμει καθ-
2 ελεῖν Νέρωνα. τῶν γὰρ[1] συνεπιτιθεμένων τότε τοὺς μὲν οὐδεὶς ἠξίωσε τῆς ἡγεμονίας, οἱ δ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀπηξίωσαν, Γάλβας δὲ καὶ κληθεὶς καὶ ὑπακούσας αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ τῇ Οὐίνδικος ἐμπαρασχὼν ὄνομα τόλμῃ, κίνημα καὶ νεωτερισμὸν αὐτοῦ λεγομένην τὴν ἀπόστασιν ἐποίησε πόλεμον
3 ἐμφύλιον, ἀνδρὸς ἡγεμονικοῦ τυχοῦσαν. ὅθεν οὐχ ἑαυτῷ τὰ πράγματα λαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἑαυτὸν οἰόμενος διδόναι τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἄρχειν ἠξίου τῶν ὑπὸ Τιγελλίνου καὶ Νυμφιδίου τετιθασευμένων ὡς Σκηπίων ἦρχε καὶ Φαβρίκιος καὶ
4 Κάμιλλος τῶν τότε Ῥωμαίων. ὑπερειπόμενος δὲ τῷ γήρᾳ, ἄχρι τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τῶν στρατευμάτων ἄκρατος ἦν καὶ ἀρχαῖος αὐτοκράτωρ, Οὐινίῳ

[1] καθελεῖν Νέρωνα. τῶν γὰρ κ.τ.λ. Bekker, after Coraës: καθελὼν Νέρωνα τῶν κ.τ.λ.

five hundred drachmas; that of Piso was given to his wife Verania in answer to her prayers; and that of Galba was bestowed upon the servants of Patrobius. They took it, and after heaping all manner of insult and outrage upon it, cast it into a place called Sessorium, where those under condemnation of the emperors are put to death. The body of Galba was taken up by Priscus Helvidius, with the permission of Otho; and it was buried at night by Argivus, a freedman.

XXIX. Such were the fortunes of Galba, a man surpassed by few Romans in lineage and wealth, and both in wealth and lineage the foremost of his time. During the reigns of five emperors he lived with honour and high repute, so that it was by his high repute, rather than by his military power, that he overthrew Nero. For of his partners in the task, some were by all men deemed unworthy of the imperial dignity, and others deemed themselves unworthy. But to Galba the imperial title was offered and by him it was accepted; and by simply lending his name to the bold measures of Vindex, he gave to his revolt (as his rebellious agitation was called) the character of a civil war, because it had acquired a man who was worthy to rule. Wherefore, in the belief that he was not seizing the conduct of affairs for himself, but rather giving himself for the conduct of affairs, he set out with the idea of commanding the petted creatures of Tigellinus and Nymphidius as Scipio and Fabricius and Camillus used to command the Romans of their time. But being gradually weighed down by his years, in arms and camps, indeed, he was an "imperator" of a severe and ancient type; but

δὲ καὶ Λάκωνι καὶ τοῖς ἀπελευθέροις πάντα τὰ πράγματα πωλοῦσι παρέχων ἑαυτόν, οἷον Νέρων παρεῖχε τοῖς ἀπληστοτάτοις, οὐδένα ποθοῦντα τὴν ἀρχήν, οἰκτείραντας δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς τὸν θάνατον ἀπέλιπεν.

just as Nero put himself in the hands of his most insatiate favourites, so Galba put himself in the hands of Vinius and Laco and their freedmen, and they made merchandise of everything, so that he left behind him no one who wished him still in power, but very many who were moved to pity at his death.

OTHO

ΟΘΩΝ

I. Ὁ δὲ νεώτερος αὐτοκράτωρ ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ προ-
ελθὼν εἰς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἔθυσε· καὶ κελεύσας
Μάριον Κέλσον ἀχθῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἠσπάσατο
καὶ διελέχθη φιλανθρώπως, καὶ παρεκάλεσε τῆς
αἰτίας ἐπιλαθέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἀφέσεως μνη-
μονεύειν. τοῦ δὲ Κέλσου μήτ' ἀγεννῶς ἀποκρι-
ναμένου μήτ' ἀναισθήτως, ἀλλὰ φήσαντος αὐτὸ
τοῦ τρόπου διδόναι τὸ ἔγκλημα πίστιν, ἐγκεκλῆ-
σθαι γὰρ ὅτι Γάλβᾳ βέβαιον ἑαυτὸν παρέσχεν,
ᾧ χάριν οὐδεμίαν ὤφειλεν, ἠγάσθησαν οἱ παρόντες
2 ἀμφοτέρων καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἐπῄνεσεν. ἐν δὲ
συγκλήτῳ πολλὰ δημοτικὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα δια-
λεχθείς, ὃν μὲν αὐτὸς ὑπατεύειν χρόνον ἤμελλε,
τούτου μέρος ἔνειμεν Οὐεργινίῳ Ῥούφῳ, τοῖς δὲ
ἀποδεδειγμένοις ὑπὸ Νέρωνος ἢ Γάλβα πᾶσιν
ἐτήρησε τὰς ὑπατείας. ἱερωσύναις δὲ τοὺς καθ'
3 ἡλικίαν προήκοντας ἢ δόξαν ἐκόσμησε. τοῖς δὲ 1067
ἐπὶ Νέρωνος φυγοῦσι καὶ κατελθοῦσιν ἐπὶ Γάλβα
συγκλητικοῖς πᾶσιν ἀπέδωκεν ὅσα μὴ πεπραμένα
τῶν κτημάτων ἑκάστου[1] ἐξεύρισκεν. ὅθεν οἱ
πρῶτοι καὶ κράτιστοι πεφρικότες πρότερον ὡς

[1] ἑκάστου Coraës and Bekker, after Stephanus, for the ἕκαστον of the MSS.: ἑκάστων.

OTHO[1]

I. At daybreak the new emperor went forth to the Capitol and sacrificed; then, having ordered Marius Celsus to be brought to him, he greeted that officer, conversed with him kindly, and urged him to forget the cause of his imprisonment rather than to remember his release. Celsus replied in a manner that was neither ignoble nor ungrateful, saying that the very charge made against him afforded proof of his character, for the charge was that he had been loyal to Galba, from whom he had received no special favours. Both speakers were admired by those who were present, and the soldiery gave their approval. In the senate Otho spoke at length in a kindly strain and like a popular leader. For part of the time during which he himself was to have been consul, he assigned the office to Verginius Rufus, and all those who had been designated as future consuls by Nero or Galba he confirmed in their appointment. To the priesthoods he promoted those who were preëminent in age or reputation. Moreover, to all the men of senatorial rank who had been exiled under Nero and restored under Galba, he restored whatever portions of each man's property he found to be unsold. Wherefore the citizens of highest birth and greatest influence, who before this

[1] With Plutarch's *Otho* may be compared Suetonius, *Otho*; Dion Cassius, lxiv. 10—15; Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 46—ii. 49.

οὐκ ἀνδρός, ἀλλά τινος ἢ Ποινῆς ἢ παλαμναίου δαίμονος ἄφνω τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιπεπτωκότος, ἡδίους ἐγένοντο ταῖς ἐλπίσι πρὸς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὥσπερ διαμειδιῶσαν.

II. Ὁμοῦ δὲ Ῥωμαίους πάντας οὐδὲν εὔφρανεν οὕτως οὐδὲ ᾠκειώσατο πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς τὰ περὶ Τιγελλῖνον. ἐλελήθει μὲν γὰρ ἤδη κολαζόμενος αὐτῷ τῷ φόβῳ τῆς κολάσεως ἣν ὡς χρέος ἀπῄτει
2 δημόσιον ἡ πόλις, καὶ νοσήμασιν ἀνηκέστοις σώματος, αὐτάς τε τὰς ἀνοσίους καὶ ἀρρήτους ἐν γυναιξὶ πόρναις καὶ ἀκαθάρτοις ἐγκυλινδήσεις, αἷς ἔτι προσέσπαιρε δυσθανατοῦντος αὐτοῦ τὸ ἀκόλαστον ἐπιδραττόμενον, ἐσχάτην τιμωρίαν ἐποιοῦντο καὶ πολλῶν ἀντάξια θανάτων οἱ σωφρονοῦντες. ἠνία δὲ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὅμως τὸν ἥλιον ὁρῶν μετὰ τοσούτους καὶ τοιούτους δι'
3 αὐτὸν οὐχ ὁρῶντας. ἔπεμψεν οὖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ὄθων εἰς τοὺς περὶ Σινόεσσαν ἀγρούς· ἐκεῖ γὰρ διῃτᾶτο, πλοίων παρορμούντων, ὡς φευξόμενος ἀπωτέρω. καὶ τόν γε πεμφθέντα χρυσίῳ πολλῷ πείθειν ἐπεχείρησε παρεῖναι· μὴ πεισθέντι δὲ δῶρα μὲν ἔδωκεν οὐδὲν ἧττον, ἐδεήθη δὲ ὑπομεῖναι ἕως ἂν ἀποξύρηται τὸ γένειον· καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐλαιμοτόμησεν.

III. Οὕτω δὲ τῷ δήμῳ τὴν δικαιοτάτην ἡδονὴν ἀποδοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ, αὐτὸς ἰδίας ἔχθρας οὐδενὶ τοπαράπαν ἐμνησικάκησε, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς χαριζόμενος οὐκ ἔφευγε τὸ πρῶτον ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις Νέρων προσαγορεύεσθαι· καί τινων εἰκόνας Νέ-

had felt a shuddering fear that it was not a man, but some genius of retribution or avenging spirit, that had suddenly fallen upon the state, became more cheerful in their hopes for a government which wore a face so smiling.

II. But nothing so gladdened all Romans alike, and won their allegiance to the new emperor so much, as his treatment of Tigellinus. Men were not aware that Tigellinus was already punished by his very fear of that punishment which the city was demanding as a debt due to the public, and also by incurable bodily diseases; and besides, there were those unhallowed and unspeakable grovellings of his among the vilest harlots, for which his lustful nature still panted, clutching after them as his life painfully ebbed away; these were looked upon by reasonable men as extremest punishment and an equivalent of many deaths. Nevertheless it vexed the common people that he should see the light of day after so many good men had been robbed of that light by him. Accordingly, Otho sent a messenger to fetch him from his country estate at Sinuessa; for he was staying there, where vessels lay at anchor, that he might fly to more distant parts. He tried to bribe the messenger with a large sum of money to let him go, but failing in this, he made him gifts nevertheless, and begged him to wait till he had shaved; and taking the razor he cut his own throat.

III. And now that the emperor had given the people this most righteous gratification, he did not remember his own private grievances against any man soever, and in his desire to please the multitude did not refuse at first to be hailed in the theatres by the name of Nero, and when statues of Nero

ρωνος εἰς τοὐμφανὲς προθεμένων οὐκ ἐκώλυσε.
2 Κλούβιος δὲ Ῥοῦφος εἰς Ἰβηρίαν φησὶ κομισθῆναι
διπλώματα, οἷς ἐκπέμπουσι τοὺς γραμματη-
φόρους, τὸ τοῦ Νέρωνος θετὸν ὄνομα προσγε-
γραμμένον ἔχοντα τῷ τοῦ Ὄθωνος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ
τοὺς πρώτους καὶ κρατίστους αἰσθόμενος ἐπὶ
τούτῳ δυσχεραίνοντας ἐπαύσατο.
Τοιαύτην δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας κατάστασιν αὐτῷ
λαμβανούσης, οἱ μισθοφόροι χαλεποὺς παρεῖχον
ἑαυτούς, ἀπιστεῖν παρακελευόμενοι καὶ φυλάτ-
τεσθαι καὶ κολούειν τοὺς ἀξιολόγους, εἴτ' ἀληθῶς
φοβούμενοι δι' εὔνοιαν, εἴτε προφάσει χρώμενοι
3 ταύτῃ τοῦ ταράττειν καὶ πολεμοποιεῖν. Κρισπῖ-
νον δὲ πέμψαντος αὐτοῦ τὴν ἑπτακαιδεκάτην
σπεῖραν Ὠστίας ἀπάξοντα, κἀκείνου νυκτὸς ἔτι
συσκευαζομένου καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ταῖς ἁμάξαις ἐπιτι-
θέντος, οἱ θρασύτατοι πάντες ἐβόων οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς
τὸν Κρισπῖνον ἥκειν διανοούμενον, ἀλλὰ τὴν σύγ-
κλητον ἐπιχειρεῖν πράγμασι νεωτέροις, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα
4 κατὰ Καίσαρος, οὐ Καίσαρι παρακομίζεσθαι. τοῦ
δὲ λόγου πολλῶν ἁπτομένου καὶ παροξύνοντος, οἱ
μὲν ἐπελαμβάνοντο τῶν ἁμαξῶν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἐνι-
σταμένους ἑκατοντάρχας δύο καὶ τὸν Κρισπῖνον
αὐτὸν ἀπέκτειναν, πάντες δὲ διασκευασάμενοι καὶ
παρακαλέσαντες ἀλλήλους Καίσαρι βοηθεῖν ἤλαυ-
νον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην· καὶ πυθόμενοι παρ' αὐτῷ
δειπνεῖν ὀγδοήκοντα συγκλητικούς, ἐφέροντο πρὸς
τὰ βασίλεια, νῦν καιρὸν εἶναι λέγοντες ἐν ταὐτῷ
5 πάντας ἀνελεῖν τοὺς Καίσαρος πολεμίους. ἡ μὲν
οὖν πόλις ὡς αὐτίκα διαρπαγησομένη θόρυβον

[1] Cf. Chap. viii 4

were produced in public, he did not prevent it. Moreover, Cluvius Rufus tells us that "diplomas,"[1] such as couriers are provided with, were sent to Spain, in which the cognomen of Nero was added to the name of Otho. However, perceiving that the men of highest birth and greatest influence were displeased at this, Otho gave up the practice.

But while he was placing his government on this basis, the paid soldiers began to make themselves troublesome by urging him not to trust the influential citizens, but to be on his guard against them and restrict their power. It is uncertain whether their goodwill led them to be really apprehensive for him, or whether they used this pretext for raising disturbance and war. And so, when the emperor sent Crispinus to bring back the seventeenth legion from Ostia, and while that officer was still getting the baggage together at night and loading the arms upon the waggons, the boldest of the soldiers all began to cry out that Crispinus was come on no good errand, and that the senate was attempting to bring about a revolution, and that the transportation of the arms was an act of hostility, not of service, to the emperor. The notion prevailed with great numbers and exasperated them; some attacked the waggons, others killed two centurions who opposed them, as well as Crispinus himself; and then the whole body, putting themselves in array and exhorting one another to go to the help of the emperor, marched to Rome. Here, learning that eighty senators were at supper with Otho, they rushed to the palace, declaring that now was a good time to take off all the emperor's enemies at one stroke. Accordingly, the city was in great commotion,

εἶχε πολύν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς βασιλείοις ἦσαν διαδρομαί,
καὶ τὸν Ὄθωνα δεινὴ κατελάμβανεν ἀπορία. φο-
βούμενος γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτὸς ἦν φοβερὸς
ἐκείνοις, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνηρτημένους ἑώρα ταῖς
ὄψεσιν ἀναύδους καὶ περιδεεῖς, ἐνίους καὶ μετὰ
6 γυναικῶν ἥκοντας ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον. ἅμα δὲ τοὺς
ἐπάρχους ἀπέστελλε τοῖς στρατιώταις διαλέγε-
σθαι καὶ πραΰνειν κελεύσας, ἅμα δὲ τοὺς κεκλη-
μένους ἄνδρας ἀναστήσας καθ' ἑτέρας θύρας
ἀφῆκε· καὶ μικρὸν ἔφθησαν ὑπεκφυγόντες, διὰ
τῶν μισθοφόρων ὠθουμένων εἰς τὸν ἀνδρῶνα καὶ
πυνθανομένων τί γεγόνασιν οἱ Καίσαρος πολέ-
7 μιοι. τότε μὲν οὖν ὀρθὸς ἀπὸ τῆς κλίνης πολλὰ 1068
παρηγορήσας καὶ δεηθεὶς καὶ μηδὲ δακρύων φει-
σάμενος μόλις ἀπέπεμψεν αὐτούς· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ
δωρησάμενος ἅπαντας κατ' ἄνδρα χιλίαις καὶ δια-
κοσίαις καὶ πεντήκοντα δραχμαῖς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ
8 στρατόπεδον, καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἐπῄνεσεν, ὡς
πρὸς αὐτὸν εὔνουν καὶ πρόθυμον, ὀλίγους δέ τινας
οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ φήσας ὑποικουρεῖν, διαβάλλοντας
αὐτοῦ τὴν μετριότητα καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων εὐστά-
θειαν, ἠξίου συναγανακτεῖν καὶ συγκολάζειν.
ἐπαινούντων δὲ πάντων καὶ κελευόντων, δύο μό-
νους παραλαβών, οἷς οὐδεὶς ἔμελλεν ἄχθεσθαι
κολασθεῖσιν, ἀπηλλάγη.

IV. Ταῦτα οἱ μὲν ἀγαπῶντες ἤδη καὶ πι-
στεύοντες ἐθαύμαζον τὴν μεταβολήν, οἱ δ' ἀναγ-
καῖα πολιτεύματα πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν ἡγοῦντο,

expecting to be plundered at once; in the palace there were runnings to and fro; and a dire perplexity fell upon Otho. For while he had fears about the safety of his guests, he himself was an object of fear to them, and he saw that they kept their eyes fixed upon him in speechless terror, some of them having even brought their wives with them to the supper. But he sent the prefects of the guard with orders to explain matters to the soldiers and appease them, while at the same time he dismissed his guests by another door; and they barely succeeded in making their escape as the soldiers, forcing their way through the guards into the great hall, asked what was become of the enemies of Caesar. In this crisis, then, Otho stood up on his couch, and after many exhortations, and entreaties, and not without plentiful tears, at last succeeded in sending them away; but on the following day, after making a gift of twelve hundred and fifty drachmas to every man, he went into the camp. There he commended the great body of the soldiers for their goodwill and zeal in his service, but said that there were a few of them who were intriguing to no good purpose, thereby bringing his moderation and their fidelity into disrepute, and he demanded that they share his resentment against these and assist him in punishing them. All his hearers approving of this and bidding him to do as he wished, he took two men only, at whose punishment no one was likely to be distressed, and went away.

IV. Those who were already fond of Otho and put confidence in him admired this change in his behaviour, but others thought it a policy forced upon him by the situation, wherein he courted popular

δημαγωγοῦντος αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον. ἤδη γὰρ ἠγγέλλετο βεβαίως Οὐϊτέλλιος ἀξίωμα καὶ δύναμιν αὐτοκράτορος ἀνειληφώς· καὶ πτεροφόροι συνεχῶς ἐφοίτων ἀεί τι προσχωρεῖν ἐκείνῳ φράζοντες, ἕτεροι δὲ[1] τὰ Παννονικὰ καὶ τὰ Δαλματικὰ καὶ τὰ περὶ Μυσίαν στρατεύματα δηλοῦντες
2 ᾑρῆσθαι μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων Ὄθωνα. ταχὺ δὲ ἀφίκετο καὶ παρὰ Μουκιανοῦ γράμματα καὶ παρὰ Οὐεσπεσιανοῦ φίλια, τοῦ μὲν ἐν Συρίᾳ, τοῦ δὲ ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ μεγάλας δυνάμεις ἐχόντων. ὑφ' ὧν ἐπαιρόμενος ἔγραψεν Οὐϊτελλίῳ παραινῶν στρατιωτικὰ φρονεῖν, ὡς χρήματα πολλὰ δώσοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ βιώσεται ῥᾷστον καὶ ἥδιστον
3 βίον μεθ' ἡσυχίας. ἀντέγραψε δὲ κἀκεῖνος αὐτῷ κατειρωνευόμενος ἡσυχῇ πρῶτον· ἐκ δὲ τούτου διερεθιζόμενοι πολλὰ βλάσφημα καὶ ἀσελγῆ χλευάζοντες ἀλλήλοις ἔγραφον, οὐ ψευδῶς μέν, ἀνοήτως δὲ καὶ γελοίως θατέρου τὸν ἕτερον ἃ προσῆν ἀμφοτέροις ὀνείδη λοιδοροῦντος. ἀσωτίας γὰρ καὶ μαλακίας καὶ ἀπειρίας πολέμων καὶ τῶν πρόσθεν ἐπὶ πενίᾳ χρεῶν πλήθους ἔργον ἦν εἰπεῖν ὁποτέρῳ μεῖον αὐτῶν μέτεστι.

4 Σημείων δὲ καὶ φαντασμάτων πολλῶν λεγομένων, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα φήμας ἀδεσπότους καὶ ἀμφιβόλους εἶχεν, ἐν δὲ Καπιτωλίῳ Νίκης ἐφεστώσης ἅρματι τὰς ἡνίας πάντες εἶδον ἀφειμένας ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν, ὥσπερ κρατεῖν μὴ δυναμένης, καὶ τὸν ἐν μεσοποταμίᾳ νήσῳ Γαΐου Καίσαρος ἀνδριάντα

favour because of the war. For already there were sure tidings that Vitellius had assumed the dignity and power of emperor; and swift couriers were continually coming with accounts of ever new accessions to him, although others made it clear that the armies in Pannonia, Dalmatia, and Mysia, with their leaders, adhered to Otho. And quickly there came also friendly letters from Mucianus and Vespasian, who were at the head of large forces, the one in Syria, the other in Judaea. Otho was elated by these, and wrote to Vitellius advising him not to have more than a soldier's ambitions, in which case he should be rewarded with a large sum of money, and a city, where he could live in the utmost ease and pleasure and be undisturbed. Vitellius also wrote to Otho in reply, at first in a somewhat dissembling manner; but afterwards both got excited and wrote one another abusive letters filled with shameful insults; not that either brought false charges, but it was foolish and ridiculous for one to storm the other with reproaches applicable to both. For as regards prodigality, effeminacy, inexperience in war, and multiplicity of debts incurred in a previous state of poverty, it were hard to say which of them had the advantage.

There were many reports of signs and apparitions, most of which were of uncertain and dubious origin; but everybody saw that a Victory standing in a chariot on the Capitol had dropped the reins from her hands, as if she had not power to hold them, and that the statue of Caius Caesar on the island in

[1] δὲ supplied by Sint.[2], after Schaefer; Bekker assumes a lacuna before ἕτεροι.

μήτε σεισμοῦ γεγονότος μήτε πνεύματος ἀφ' ἑσ-
5 πέρας μεταστραφέντα πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολάς· ὅ φασι
συμβῆναι περὶ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας ἐν αἷς οἱ περὶ
Οὐεσπεσιανὸν ἐμφανῶς ἤδη τῶν πραγμάτων ἀντε-
λαμβάνοντο. καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν Θύμβριν δὲ σύμ-
πτωμα σημεῖον ἐποιοῦντο οἱ πολλοὶ μοχθηρόν.
ἦν μὲν γὰρ ὥρα περὶ ἣν μάλιστα οἱ ποταμοὶ πλή-
θουσιν, ἀλλ' οὔπω τοσοῦτος ἤρθη πρότερον, οὐδὲ
ἀπώλεσε τοσαῦτα καὶ διέφθειρεν, ὑπερχυθεὶς καὶ
κατακλύσας πολὺ μέρος τῆς πόλεως, πλεῖστον
δὲ ἐν ᾧ τὸν ἐπὶ πράσει διαπωλοῦσι σῖτον, ὡς
δεινὴν ἀπορίαν ἡμερῶν συχνῶν κατασχεῖν.

V. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰς Ἄλπεις κατέχοντες ἤδη
προσηγγέλλοντο Κεκίνας καὶ Οὐάλης Οὐϊτελλίῳ
στρατηγοῦντες, ἐν Ῥώμῃ Δολοβέλλας, εὐπατρί-
δης ἀνήρ, ὑποψίαν παρεῖχε τοῖς μισθοφόροις
νεώτερα φρονεῖν. ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὖν, εἴτε αὐτὸν εἴτε
ἄλλον δεδοικώς, εἰς πόλιν Ἀκύνιον παρέπεμψε πα-
ραθαρρύνας. καταλέγων δὲ τῶν ἐν τέλει συνεκδή-
μους ἔταξεν ἐν τούτοις καὶ Λεύκιον τὸν Οὐϊτελλίου
ἀδελφόν, οὔτε προσθεὶς οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀφελὼν ἧς
2 εἶχε τιμῆς. ἰσχυρῶς δὲ καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἐπεμε-
λήθη τοῦ Οὐϊτελλίου καὶ τῆς γυναικός, ὅπως
μηδὲν φοβήσονται περὶ αὑτῶν. τῆς δὲ Ῥώμης
φύλακα Φλαούιον Σαβῖνον, ἀδελφὸν Οὐεσπεσια-
νοῦ, κατέστησεν, εἴτε καὶ τοῦτο πράξας ἐπὶ τιμῇ
Νέρωνος (παρ' ἐκείνου γὰρ εἰλήφει τὴν ἀρχὴν
ὁ Σαβῖνος, ἀφείλετο δὲ Γάλβας αὐτόν), εἴτε μᾶλ-
λον εὔνοιαν ἐνεδείκνυτο Οὐεσπεσιανῷ καὶ πίστιν
αὔξων Σαβῖνον.
3 Αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἐν Βριξίλλῳ, πόλει τῆς Ἰταλίας

the Tiber, without the occurrence of earthquake or wind, had turned from west to east, which is said to have happened during the time when Vespasian was at last openly trying to seize the supreme power. The behaviour of the Tiber, too, was regarded by most people as a baleful sign. It was a time, to be sure, when rivers are at their fullest, but the Tiber had never before risen so high, nor caused so great ruin and destruction. It overflowed its banks and submerged a great part of the city, and especially the grain-market, so that dire scarcity of food prevailed for many days together.

V. And now, when word was brought to Rome that Caecina and Valens, who were in command with Vitellius, were in possession of the Alps, Dolabella, a man of noble family, was suspected by the praetorian soldiers of revolutionary designs. Otho therefore sent him away (through fear of him or of someone else) to the town of Aquinum, with words of encouragement. And in his selection of the men in authority who were to accompany him on his expedition he included also Lucius, the brother of Vitellius, without either increasing or diminishing his honours. He also took strong measures for the safety of the wife and mother of Vitellius, that they might have no fear for themselves. Moreover, he appointed Flavius Sabinus, a brother of Vespasian, prefect of the city, either because in this way also he could honour the memory of Nero (for Nero had bestowed the office upon Sabinus, but Galba had deprived him of it), or rather because, by advancing Sabinus, he could show how he favoured and trusted Vespasian.

Well, then, Otho himself tarried behind at Brixil-

περὶ τὸν Ἠριδανὸν ἀπελείφθη, στρατηγοὺς δὲ
τῶν δυνάμεων ἐξέπεμψε Μάριόν τε Κέλσον καὶ 1069
Σουητώνιον Παυλῖνον ἔτι τε Γάλλον καὶ Σπουρίναν, ἄνδρας ἐνδόξους, χρήσασθαι δὲ μὴ δυνηθέντας ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ὡς προῃροῦντο τοῖς ἑαυτῶν λογισμοῖς δι' ἀταξίαν καὶ θρασύτητα τῶν
4 στρατιωτῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἠξίουν ἑτέρων ἀκούειν, ὡς παρ' αὐτῶν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος τὸ ἄρχειν ἔχοντος. ἦν μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὑγιαίνοντα παντάπασιν οὐδὲ χειροήθη τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν, ἀλλ' ἔμπληκτα καὶ σοβαρὰ διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις ἐμπειρία γε παρῆν τοῦ μάχεσθαι
5 καὶ τὸ κάμνειν[1] ἐθάδες ὄντες οὐκ ἔφευγον, οὗτοι δὲ μαλακοὶ μὲν ἦσαν ὑπὸ σχολῆς καὶ διαίτης ἀπολέμου, πλεῖστον χρόνον ἐν θεάτροις καὶ πανηγύρεσι καὶ παρὰ σκηνὴν βεβιωκότες, ὕβρει δὲ καὶ κόμπῳ ἐπαμπέχειν ἐβούλοντο, προσποιήσασθαι τὰς λειτουργίας ὡς κρείττονες ἀπαξιοῦντες, οὐχ ὡς ἀδύνατοι φέρειν. ὁ δὲ Σπουρίνας προσβιαζόμενος αὐτοὺς ἐκινδύνευσε μικρὸν ἐλθόντας ἀν-
6 ελεῖν αὐτόν. ὕβρεως δὲ καὶ βλασφημίας οὐδεμιᾶς ἐφείσαντο, προδότην καὶ λυμεῶνα τῶν Καίσαρος καιρῶν καὶ πραγμάτων λέγοντες. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ μεθυσθέντες ἤδη νυκτὸς ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐφόδιον αἰτοῦντες· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς πρὸς Καίσαρα βαδιστέον, ὅπως ἐκείνου κατηγορήσωσιν.

VI. Ὤνησε δὲ τὰ πράγματα καὶ Σπουρίναν ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα λοιδορία περὶ Πλακεντίαν γενομένη τῶν στρατιωτῶν. οἱ γὰρ Οὐϊτελλίου τοῖς τείχεσι προσβάλλοντες ἐχλεύαζον τοὺς Ὄθωνος ἑστῶτας

[1] τὸ κάμνειν Bekker, after Coraës: τοῦ κάμνειν.

lum, a town of Italy on the river Po, but sent his forces on under the command of Marius Celsus and Suetonius Paulinus, besides Gallus and Spurina. These were men of distinction, but were unable to conduct the campaign according to their own plans and wishes, owing to the disorderly and arrogant spirit of their soldiers. For these would not deign to obey other officers, since, as they said, they had made the emperor their commander. It is true that the enemy's troops also were not altogether in condition, nor under the control ot their officers, but fierce and haughty, and for the same reason. Nevertheless, they were certainly experienced in fighting, and being accustomed to hard labour, they did not shun it; whereas Otho's men were soft, owing to their lack of employment and their unwarlike mode of life, having spent most of their time at spectacles and festivals and plays, and they wished to cloak their weakness with insolence and boasting, disdaining to perform the services laid upon them because they were above the work, not because they were unable to do it. When Spurina tried to force them into obedience, he came near being killed by them. They spared him no abuse nor insolence, declaring that he was betraying and ruining the opportunities and the cause of Caesar. Nay, some of them who were drunk came at night to his tent and demanded money for a journey, for they must go, they said, to Caesar, in order to denounce their commander.

VI. But Spurina and the emperor's cause were helped for the time by the abuse which his soldiers received at Placentia. For when the troops of Vitellius assaulted the walls, they railed at the

παρὰ τὰς ἐπάλξεις, σκηνικοὺς καὶ πυρριχιστὰς καὶ Πυθίων καὶ Ὀλυμπίων θεωρούς, πολέμου δὲ καὶ στρατείας ἀπείρους καὶ ἀθεάτους ἀποκαλοῦντες, καὶ μέγα φρονοῦντας ἐπὶ τῷ γέροντος ἀνόπλου κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμεῖν, τὸν Γάλβαν λέγοντες, εἰς δὲ ἀγῶνα καὶ μάχην ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἂν ἐκφανῶς
2 καταβάντας. οὕτω γὰρ ἐταράχθησαν ὑπὸ τούτων τῶν ὀνειδῶν καὶ διεκάησαν ὥστε προσπεσεῖν τῷ Σπουρίνᾳ, δεόμενοι χρῆσθαι καὶ προστάττειν αὐτοῖς, οὐδένα κίνδυνον οὐδὲ πόνον ἀπολεγομένοις. ἰσχυρᾶς δὲ συστάσης τειχομαχίας καὶ μηχανημάτων πολλῶν προσαχθέντων ἐκράτησαν οἱ τοῦ Σπουρίνα, καὶ φόνῳ πολλῷ τοὺς ἐναντίους ἀποκρουσάμενοι διετήρησαν ἔνδοξον πόλιν καὶ τῶν Ἰταλῶν οὐδεμιᾶς ἧττον ἀνθοῦσαν.

3 Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τῶν Οὐϊτελλίου στρατηγῶν οἱ Ὄθωνος ἐντυχεῖν ἀλυπότεροι καὶ πόλεσι καὶ ἰδιώταις· ἐκείνων δὲ Κεκίνας μὲν οὔτε φωνὴν οὔτε σχῆμα δημοτικός, ἀλλ' ἐπαχθὴς καὶ ἀλλόκοτος, σώματος μεγάλου, Γαλατικῶς ἀναξυρίσι καὶ χειρῖσιν ἐνεσκευασμένος, σημείοις καὶ ἄρχου-
4 σι Ῥωμαϊκοῖς διαλεγόμενος. καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα παρέπεμπον αὐτῷ λογάδην ἱππεῖς ὀχουμένην ἵππῳ κεκοσμημένην ἐπιφανῶς. Φάβιον δὲ Οὐάλεντα τὸν ἕτερον στρατηγὸν οὔτε ἁρπαγαὶ πολεμίων οὔτε κλοπαὶ καὶ δωροδοκίαι παρὰ συμμάχων ἐνεπίμπλασαν χρηματιζόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐδόκει διὰ τοῦτο βραδέως ὁδεύων ὑστερῆσαι τῆς προτέ-
5 ρας μάχης. οἱ δὲ τὸν Κεκίναν αἰτιῶνται, σπεύδοντα τὴν νίκην ἑαυτοῦ γενέσθαι πρὶν ἐκεῖνον

soldiers of Otho who manned the ramparts, calling them actors, dancers, spectators at Pythian and Olympian games, men who had never known or seen a campaign or fighting, and thought highly of themselves because they had cut off the head of a defenceless old man (meaning Galba), but would not openly enter a conflict and battle of men. Otho's soldiers were so disturbed by these reproaches, and so inflamed, that they threw themselves at the feet of Spurina, begging him to use them and command them, and pleading excuse from no danger or toil. And so, when a fierce assault was made upon the walls and many siege-engines were brought to bear upon them, Spurina's men prevailed, repulsed their opponents with great slaughter, and held safe a city which was famous and more flourishing than any in Italy.

In other ways, too, the generals of Vitellius were more vexatious than those of Otho in their dealings with both cities and private persons. One of them, Caecina, had neither the speech nor the outward appearance of a Roman citizen, but was offensive and strange, a man of huge stature, who wore Gaulish trousers and long sleeves, and conversed by signs even with Roman officials. His wife, too, accompanied him, with an escort of picked horsemen; she rode a horse, and was conspicuously adorned. Fabius Valens, the other general, was so rapacious that neither what he plundered from the enemy nor what he stole or received as gifts from the allies could satisfy him. Indeed, it was thought that this rapacity of his had delayed his march, so that he was too late for the battle at Placentia. But some blame Caecina, who, they say, was eager to win the

ἐλθεῖν, ἄλλοις τε μικροτέροις περιπεσεῖν ἁμαρτή-
μασι καὶ μάχην οὐ κατὰ καιρὸν οὐδὲ γενναίως
συνάψαι, μικροῦ πάντα τὰ πράγματα διαφθεί-
ρασαν αὐτοῖς.

VII. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀποκρουσθεὶς τῆς Πλακεντίας
ὁ Κεκίνας ἐπὶ Κρεμώνην ὥρμησεν, ἑτέραν πόλιν
εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην, πρῶτος μὲν Ἄννιος
Γάλλος πρὸς Πλακεντίαν Σπουρίνᾳ βοηθῶν, ὡς
ἤκουσε καθ' ὁδὸν τοὺς Πλακεντίνους περιγεγονέ-
ναι, κινδυνεύειν δὲ τοὺς ἐν Κρεμώνῃ, μετήγαγεν
ἐκεῖ τὸ στράτευμα καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσε πλη-
σίον τῶν πολεμίων· ἔπειτα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
2 ἕκαστος ἐβοήθει τῷ στρατηγῷ. τοῦ δὲ Κεκίνα
λοχίσαντος εἰς λάσια χωρία καὶ ὑλώδη πολλοὺς
ὁπλίτας, ἱππεῖς δὲ προεξελάσαι κελεύσαντος, κἂν 1070
συνάψωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι κατὰ μικρὸν ἀναχωρεῖν
καὶ ἀναφεύγειν, ἄχρι ἂν ὑπάγοντες οὕτως ἐμβά-
λωσιν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν ἐνέδραν, ἐξήγγειλαν αὐτό-
μολοι τῷ Κέλσῳ. καὶ οὗτος μὲν ἱππεῦσιν
ἀγαθοῖς ἀντεξελάσας, πεφυλαγμένως δὲ χρώ-
μενος τῇ διώξει καὶ τὴν ἐνέδραν περισχὼν καὶ
συνταράξας, ἐκάλει τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἐκ τοῦ στρατο-
3 πέδου. καὶ δοκοῦσιν ἂν ἐπελθόντες ἐν καιρῷ μη-
δένα λιπεῖν τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τὸ μετὰ
Κεκίνα στράτευμα συντρῖψαι καὶ ἀνελεῖν ἐπισπό-
μενοι τοῖς ἱππεῦσι· νυνὶ δὲ ὁ Παυλῖνος ὀψὲ καὶ
σχολῇ προσβοηθήσας αἰτίαν ἔσχεν ἐνδεέστερον
4 τῆς δόξης στρατηγῆσαι δι' εὐλάβειαν. οἱ δὲ
πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ προδοσίαν ἐνεκά-
λουν αὐτῷ, καὶ παρώξυνον τὸν Ὄθωνα, μεγαλη-

victory himself before Valens came, and so not only made other minor mistakes, but also joined battle inopportunely and without much spirit, thereby almost ruining their whole enterprise.

VII. For when Caecina, repulsed from Placentia, had set out to attack Cremona, another large and prosperous city, first Annius Gallus, who was coming to the help of Spurina at Placentia, hearing upon the march that Placentia was safe, but that Cremona was in peril, changed his course and led his army to Cremona, where he encamped near the enemy; then his colleagues[1] came one by one to his aid. Caecina now placed a large body of men-at-arms in ambush where the ground was rough and woody, and then ordered his horsemen to ride towards the enemy, and if they were attacked, to withdraw little by little and retreat, until they had in this way drawn their pursuers into the ambush. But deserters brought word of all this to Celsus, who rode out with good horsemen to meet the enemy, followed up his pursuit with caution, surrounded the men in ambush, and threw them into confusion. Then he summoned his men-at-arms from the camp. And apparently, if these had come up in time to the support of the cavalry, not a man of the enemy would have been left alive, but the whole army with Caecina would have been crushed and slain. As it was, however, Paulinus came to their aid too slowly and too late, and incurred the charge of sullying his reputation as a commander through excessive caution. But most of the soldiers actually accused him of treachery, and tried to incense Otho against him,

[1] Celsus, Paulinus, and Spurina (v. 3), although Spurina is not mentioned further.

γοροῦντες ὡς νενικηκότων αὐτῶν, τῆς δὲ νίκης οὐκ ἐπὶ πᾶν προελθούσης κακίᾳ τῶν στρατηγῶν. ὁ δὲ Ὄθων οὐχ οὕτως ἐπίστευεν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐβούλετο μὴ δοκεῖν ἀπιστεῖν. ἔπεμψεν οὖν Τιτιανὸν ἐπὶ τὰ στρατεύματα τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ Πρόκλον τὸν ἔπαρχον, ὃς εἶχεν ἔργῳ τὴν πᾶσαν ἀρχήν,
5 *πρόσχημα δὲ ἦν ὁ Τιτιανός. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Κέλσον καὶ Παυλῖνον ἄλλως ἐφείλκοντο συμβούλων ὄνομα καὶ φίλων, ἐξουσίαν καὶ δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι μηδεμίαν ἔχοντες. ἦν δὲ θορυβώδη καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῷ Οὐάλεντι· καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἐνέδραν μάχης ἀπαγγελθείσης ἐχαλέπαινον ὅτι μὴ παρεγένοντο μηδὲ ἤμυναν ἀνδρῶν τοσούτων ἀποθανόντων. μόλις δὲ πείσας καὶ παραιτησάμενος ὡρμημένους αὐτοὺς βάλλειν ἀνέζευξε καὶ συνῆψε τοῖς περὶ Κεκίναν.*

VIII. *Ὁ δὲ Ὄθων παραγενόμενος εἰς Βητριακὸν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον (ἔστι δὲ πολίχνη πλησίον Κρεμώνης τὸ Βητριακόν) ἐβουλεύετο περὶ τῆς μάχης. καὶ Πρόκλῳ μὲν ἐδόκει καὶ Τιτιανῷ, τῶν στρατευμάτων ὄντων προθύμων καὶ προσφάτου τῆς νίκης, διαγωνίσασθαι καὶ μὴ καθῆσθαι τὴν ἀκμὴν ἀμβλύνοντα τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ περιμένοντα Οὐϊτέλλιον αὐτὸν ἐκ Γαλατίας ἐπελθεῖν·*
2 *Παυλῖνος δὲ τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ἔφη πάντα μεθ' ὧν μαχοῦνται παρεῖναι, καὶ μηδὲν ἐνδεῖν, Ὄθωνι δὲ τῆς ἤδη παρούσης οὐκ ἐλάττονα προσδόκιμον εἶναι δύναμιν ἐκ Μυσίας καὶ Παννονίας, ἂν τὸν αὑτοῦ περιμένῃ καιρόν, ἀλλὰ μὴ στρατηγῇ πρὸς*
3 *τὸν τῶν πολεμίων. οὐ γὰρ ἀμβλυτέροις γε χρή-*

loudly boasting that they had been victorious, but that their victory was made incomplete by the cowardice of their commanders. Otho did not believe them, and yet wished to avoid the appearance of disbelieving them. He therefore sent to the armies his brother Titianus, and Proculus, the prefect of the guards; of these two men Proculus had the entire authority in reality, and Titianus only in appearance. Celsus and Paulinus, too, enjoyed the empty title of friends and counsellors, but had no power or influence in the conduct of affairs. There were disturbances also among the enemy, and especially among the troops of Valens; for when these were told about the battle at the ambuscade, they were enraged because they were not present and had given no aid where so many men had lost their lives. They actually began to stone Valens, but he finally succeeded in pacifying them, and then broke camp and joined Caecina.

VIII. Otho now came to the camp at Bedricum (a little village near Cremona) and held a council of war. Proculus and Titianus were of the opinion that he ought to fight a decisive battle while his armies were flushed with their recent victory, and not sit there dulling the efficiency of his troops and waiting for Vitellius to come in person from Gaul. Paulinus, on the contrary, said that the enemy already had all the resources with which they would give battle, and lacked nothing, whereas, in the case of Otho, a force as large as the one he already had might be expected from Mysia and Pannonia, if he would only wait for his own best opportunity and conduct the campaign to suit that of the enemy. For his men were now confident of success in spite

σεσθαι τότε τοῖς νῦν θαρροῦσιν ἀπ' ἐλαττόνων,
ἂν πλείονας τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους προσλάβωσιν,
ἀλλ' ἐκ περιουσίας ἀγωνιεῖσθαι· καὶ χωρὶς δὲ
τούτου τὴν διατριβὴν εἶναι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐν ἀφθό-
νοις πᾶσιν ὄντων, ἐκείνοις δὲ τὸν χρόνον ἀπορίαν
παρέξειν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐν πολεμίᾳ καθεζομένοις.
4 ταῦτα λέγοντι Παυλίνῳ Μάριος Κέλσος ἐγένετο
σύμψηφος. Ἄννιος δὲ Γάλλος οὐ παρῆν μέν,
ἀλλ' ἐθεραπεύετο πεπτωκὼς ἀφ' ἵππου, γράψαν-
τος δὲ Ὄθωνος αὐτῷ συνεβούλευσε μὴ σπεύδειν,
ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐκ Μυσίας περιμένειν δύναμιν ἤδη καθ'
ὁδὸν οὖσαν. οὐ μὴν ἐπείθετο τούτοις, ἀλλὰ ἐκρά-
τησαν οἱ πρὸς τὴν μάχην παρορμῶντες.

IX. Αἰτίαι δὲ πλείονες ἄλλαι ὑπ' ἄλλων λέ-
γονται· προδήλως δὲ οἱ στρατηγικοὶ προσαγο-
ρευόμενοι καὶ τάξιν ἔχοντες δορυφόρων, τότε
μᾶλλον ἀληθινῆς γευόμενοι στρατείας καὶ τὰς ἐν
Ῥώμῃ διατριβὰς καὶ διαίτας ἀπολέμους καὶ πανη-
γυρικὰς ποθοῦντες, οὐκ ἦσαν καθεκτοὶ σπεύδοντες
ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, ὡς εὐθὺς ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀναρπασό-
2 μενοι τοὺς ἐναντίους. δοκεῖ δὲ μηδὲ αὐτὸς Ὄθων
ἐξαναφέρειν ἔτι πρὸς τὴν ἀδηλότητα μηδὲ ὑπο-
μένειν ἀηθείᾳ καὶ μαλακότητι τοὺς περὶ τῶν δει-
νῶν λογισμούς, ἐκπονούμενος δὲ ταῖς φροντίσι
σπεύδειν ἐγκαλυψάμενος, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ κρημνοῦ,
3 μεθεῖναι τὰ πράγματα πρὸς τὸ συντυχόν. καὶ 1071
τοῦτο μὲν διηγεῖτο Σεκοῦνδος ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐπὶ τῶν
ἐπιστολῶν γενόμενος τοῦ Ὄθωνος. ἑτέρων δὲ ἦν

of their inferior numbers, and he would not find them less keen after they had received reinforcements, nay, their superiority would lead them to fight all the better. And besides, delay was to their advantage, since they had everything in abundance, while to the enemy time would bring a scarcity of supplies, since they were occupying a hostile country. So Paulinus argued, and Marius Celsus voted with him. Annius Gallus was not present, being under treatment for a fall from his horse, but Otho asked his advice by letter, and his counsel was not to hasten the battle, but to await the forces from Mysia, which were already on the march. Nevertheless, Otho would not listen to these counsels, and the day was carried by those who urged immediate battle.

IX. Various other reasons for this are given by various writers; but manifestly the praetorian soldiers, as they were called, who served as the emperor's guards, since they were now getting a more generous taste of real military service and longed for their accustomed life of diversion at Rome in which festivals abounded and war was unknown, could not be restrained, but were eager for the battle, feeling sure that at the very first onset they would overwhelm their opponents. Moreover, it would seem that Otho himself could not longer bear up against the uncertainty of the issue, nor endure (so effeminate was he and so unused to command) his own thoughts of the dire peril confronting him; but worn out by his anxieties, he veiled his eyes, like one about to leap from a precipice, and hastened to commit his cause to fortune. And this is the account given by Secundus the rhetorician, who was Otho's secretary. But others would tell us

ἀκούειν ὅτι τοῖς στρατεύμασιν ἀμφοτέροις παρί-
σταντο ὁρμαὶ πολλαὶ ὡς εἰς ταὐτὸ συνελθεῖν· καὶ
μάλιστα μὲν αὐτοὺς ὁμοφρονήσαντας ἐκ τῶν πα-
ρόντων ἡγεμονικῶν ἑλέσθαι τὸν ἄριστον, εἰ δὲ μή,
τὴν σύγκλητον ὁμοῦ καθίσαντας ἐφεῖναι τὴν
4 αἵρεσιν ἐκείνῃ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος. καὶ οὐκ ἀπει-
κός ἐστι, μηδετέρου τότε τῶν προσαγορευομένων
αὐτοκρατόρων εὐδοκιμοῦντος, ἐπιπίπτειν τοιού-
τους διαλογισμοὺς τοῖς γνησίοις καὶ διαπόνοις καὶ
σωφρονοῦσι τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὡς ἔχθιστον εἴη
καὶ δεινόν, ἃ πάλαι διὰ Σύλλαν καὶ Μάριον, εἶτα
Καίσαρα καὶ Πομπήϊον ᾠκτείροντο δρῶντες ἀλ-
λήλους καὶ πάσχοντες οἱ πολῖται, ταῦτα νῦν ὑπο-
μένειν ἢ Οὐϊτελλίῳ λαιμαργίας καὶ οἰνοφλυγίας
ἢ τρυφῆς καὶ ἀκολασίας Ὄθωνι τὴν ἡγεμο-
5 νίαν χορήγημα προθεμένους. ταῦτ᾽ οὖν ὑπο-
νοοῦσι τούς τε περὶ τὸν Κέλσον αἰσθανομένους
ἐμβαλεῖν διατριβήν, ἐλπίζοντας ἄνευ μάχης καὶ
πόνων κριθήσεσθαι τὰ πράγματα, καὶ τοὺς περὶ
τὸν Ὄθωνα φοβουμένους ἐπιταχῦναι τὴν μάχην.

X. Αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν εἰς Βρίξιλλον ἀνεχώρησε,
καὶ τοῦτο προσεξαμαρτών, οὐχ ὅτι μόνον τὴν ἐν
ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ παρόντος αἰδῶ καὶ φιλοτιμίαν
ἀφεῖλε τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐρρω-
μενεστάτους καὶ προθυμοτάτους δι᾽ αὐτὸν ἱππεῖς
καὶ πεζοὺς ἀπαγαγὼν φυλακὴν τοῦ σώματος
ὡσπερεὶ στόμωμα[1] τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπέκοψε.

2 Συνέβη δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις καὶ περὶ τὸν
Ἠριδανὸν ἀγῶνα γενέσθαι, τοῦ μὲν Κεκίνα ζευ-
γνύντος τὴν διάβασιν, τῶν δὲ Ὄθωνος εἰργόντων

that both armies were strongly inclined to confer; and above all, if they could agree, to elect as emperor the best of the commanders who were with them, but if not, to convene the senate and commit to it the choice of an emperor. And since neither of the men who then had the title of emperor enjoyed high repute, it is not unlikely that the real soldiers, those who knew what hardship was and had sense, should be led to reflect that it would be a dreadful and most hateful thing if the evils which the citizens had once to their sorrow inflicted upon one another and suffered because of Sulla and Marius, and again because of Caesar and Pompey, should now be endured again only to make the imperial power a means for providing for the gluttony and drunkenness of Vitellius or for the luxury and licentiousness of Otho. It is suspected, then, that Celsus was aware of these feelings, and therefore tried to interpose delay, hoping that the issue would thus be decided without hardship and battle, and that Otho, fearing this, hastened on the battle.

X. Otho himself returned to Brixillum, and in this too he made a mistake, not only because he took away from the combatants the respect and ambition which his presence and oversight inspired, but also because, by leading away as his bodyguard of foot and horse the men who were most vigorous and eager to please him, he cut away, as it were, the head and front of his army.

During this time there was also a conflict at the river Po, where Caecina tried to build a bridge across the stream, and Otho's soldiers attacked him

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[1] *στόμωμα* Doehner's correction of the vulgate *τι σῶμα*, adopted by Sint.[2]

καὶ προσμαχομένων. ὡς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπέραινον, ἐνθεμένων εἰς τὰ πλοῖα δᾷδα θείου καὶ πίττης ἀνάπλεων, διὰ τοῦ πόρου πνεῦμα προσπεσὸν ἄφνω τὴν παρεσκευασμένην ὕλην ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμί-
3 ους ἐξερρίπιζε. καπνοῦ δὲ πρῶτον, εἶτα λαμπρᾶς φλογὸς ἐκπεσούσης, ταραττόμενοι καὶ ἀποπηδῶντες εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν τάς τε ναῦς ἀνέτρεπον καὶ τὰ σώματα τοῖς πολεμίοις μετὰ γέλωτος παρεῖχον. οἱ δὲ Γερμανοὶ τοῖς Ὄθωνος μονομάχοις περὶ νησῖδα τοῦ ποταμοῦ προσμίξαντες ἐκράτησαν καὶ διέφθειραν αὐτῶν οὐκ ὀλίγους.

XI. Γενομένων δὲ τούτων, καὶ τῶν ἐν Βητριακῷ στρατιωτῶν τοῦ Ὄθωνος ἐκφερομένων μετ᾽ ὀργῆς ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, προήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Πρόκλος ἐκ τοῦ Βητριακοῦ, καὶ κατεστρατοπέδευσεν ἀπὸ πεντήκοντα σταδίων οὕτως ἀπείρως καὶ καταγελάστως ὥστε, τῆς μὲν ὥρας ἐαρινῆς οὔσης, τῶν δὲ κύκλῳ πεδίων πολλὰ νάματα καὶ ποταμοὺς
2 ἀεννάους ἐχόντων, ὕδατος σπάνει πιέζεσθαι. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ βουλόμενον προάγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὁδὸν οὐκ ἐλάττονα σταδίων ἑκατὸν οἱ περὶ τὸν Παυλῖνον οὐκ εἴων, ἀλλ᾽ ᾤοντο δεῖν περιμένειν καὶ μὴ προπονεῖν ἑαυτούς, μηδὲ εὐθὺς ἐκ πορείας μάχην τίθεσθαι πρὸς ἄνδρας ὡπλισμένους καὶ παρατεταγμένους καθ᾽ ἡσυχίαν, ἐν ὅσῳ χρόνῳ προΐασιν αὐτοὶ τοσαύτην ὁδὸν ἀναμεμιγ-
3 μένων ὑποζυγίων καὶ ἀκολούθων. οὔσης δὲ περὶ τούτων ἀντιλογίας ἐν τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἦλθε παρ᾽ Ὄθωνος ἱππεὺς τῶν καλουμένων Νομάδων γράμματα κομίζων κελεύοντα μὴ μένειν μηδὲ διατρίβειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἄγειν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ἄραντες ἐχώρουν, ὁ δὲ Κεκίνας

and tried to prevent it. Not succeeding, Otho's men loaded their vessels with torchwood full of sulphur and pitch, and began to cross the river; but a blast of wind suddenly smote the material which they had prepared for use against the enemy, and fanned it afire. First smoke arose from it, then bright flames, so that the crews were confounded and leaped overboard into the river, upsetting their boats, and putting themselves at the mercy of a jeering enemy. Moreover, the Germans attacked Otho's gladiators at an island in the river, overpowered them and slew not a few of them.

XI. These disasters threw Otho's soldiers at Bedriacum into a rage for battle, and Proculus therefore led them forth out of Bedriacum, and after a march of fifty furlongs pitched his camp, but in a manner so ignorant and ridiculous that his men were troubled by lack of water, although it was the spring of the year and the plains around abounded in running streams and rivers that never dried up. On the following day he proposed to make a march of no less than a hundred furlongs and attack the enemy, but Paulinus objected, and thought they ought to wait and not tire themselves beforehand, nor join battle immediately after a march with men who had armed and arrayed themselves at their leisure, while they themselves were advancing so great a distance with all their beasts of burden and camp-followers. While the generals were disputing about the matter, there came from Otho a Numidian courier with a letter which ordered them not to wait or delay, but to march at once against the enemy. Accordingly, they decamped and moved forward, and Caecina, who was much disturbed on

πυθόμενος τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν ἐθορυβήθη, καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἀπολιπὼν τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν
4 ἧκεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. ὡπλισμένων δὲ ἤδη τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ τὸ σύνθημα παραλαμβανόντων παρὰ τοῦ Οὐάλεντος, ἐν ὅσῳ τὴν τάξιν διελάγχανε τὰ τάγματα, τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν ἱππέων προεξέπεμψαν.

XII. Ἐμπίπτει δὲ τοῖς προτεταγμένοις τῶν Ὄθωνος ἔκ δή τινος αἰτίας δόξα καὶ λόγος ὡς μεταβαλουμένων τῶν Οὐϊτελλίου στρατηγῶν πρὸς αὐτούς. ὡς οὖν ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, ἠσπάσαντο φιλίως συστρατιώτας προσαγορεύσαντες. ἐκείνων δὲ τὴν προσαγόρευσιν οὐκ εὐμενῶς, ἀλλὰ μετὰ θυμοῦ καὶ φωνῆς πολεμικῆς ἀμειψαμένων, τοῖς μὲν ἀσπασαμένοις ἀθυμία, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ὑπόνοια κατὰ τῶν ἀσπασαμένων ὡς προδιδόντων
2 παρέστη. καὶ τοῦτο πρῶτον αὐτοὺς ἐτάραξεν 10
ἤδη τῶν πολεμίων ἐν χερσὶν ὄντων. εἶτα τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἦν κόσμῳ γινόμενον, ἀλλὰ πολλὴν μὲν ἀταξίαν τὰ σκευοφόρα τοῖς μαχομένοις ἐμπλαζόμενα παρεῖχε, πολλοὺς δὲ τὰ χωρία διασπασμοὺς ἐποίει τάφρων ὄντα μεστὰ καὶ ὀρυγμάτων, ἃ φοβούμενοι καὶ περιϊόντες ἠναγκάζοντο φύρδην καὶ κατὰ μέρη πολλὰ συμπλέκεσθαι τοῖς
3 ἐναντίοις. μόναι δὲ δύο λεγεῶνες (οὕτω γὰρ τὰ τάγματα Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν), ἐπίκλησιν ἡ μὲν Οὐϊτελλίου Ἅρπαξ, ἡ δὲ Ὄθωνος Βοηθός, εἰς πεδίον ἐξελίξασαι ψιλὸν καὶ ἀναπεπταμένον, νόμιμόν τινα μάχην, συμπεσοῦσαι φαλαγγηδόν, ἐμάχοντο πολὺν χρόνον. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ὄθωνος ἄνδρες ἦσαν εὔρωστοι καὶ ἀγαθοί, πολέμου δὲ καὶ μάχης τότε πρῶτον πεῖραν λαμβάνοντες· οἱ

learning of their approach, hastily abandoned his operations at the river and came to his camp. There most of the soldiers had already armed themselves, and Valens was giving out the watchword to them, and while the legions were taking up their positions, the best of the cavalry were sent out in advance.

XII. And now, for some reason, it was believed and rumoured among Otho's vanguard that the generals of Vitellius would come over to their side. Accordingly, when these drew near, Otho's men greeted them in a friendly fashion and called them fellow-soldiers. The enemy, however, returned the salutation in no kindly spirit, but with anger and hostile cries, so that those who had greeted them were dejected, and were suspected of treachery by the others on their side. This was the first thing that threw Otho's men into confusion, and at a time when the enemy were close at hand. And besides, nothing else was done properly, since the baggage-train wandered about among the fighting men and caused great disorder. Moreover, the line of battle was often broken by the nature of the ground, which was full of trenches and pits, and in avoiding or going around these the men were compelled to engage their opponents promiscuouly and in many detachments. Only two legions (to use the Roman word), that of Vitellius called "Rapax" (or *Devourer*) and that of Otho called "Adiutrix" (or *Helper*), got out into a treeless and extended plain, engaged in full formation, and fought a regular battle for a long time. Otho's men were sturdy and brave, but were now for the first time getting a taste of war and fighting; those of Vitellius, on the

δὲ Οὐϊτελλίου πολλῶν ἀγώνων ἐθάδες, ἤδη δὲ γηραιοὶ καὶ παρακμάζοντες.

4 Ὁρμήσαντες οὖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Ὄθωνος ἐώσαντο καὶ τὸν ἀετὸν ἀφείλοντο, παντας ὁμοῦ τι τοὺς προμάχους ἀποκτείναντες· οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ αἰσχύνης καὶ ὀργῆς ἐμπεσόντες αὐτοῖς τόν τε πρεσβευτὴν τοῦ τάγματος Ὀρφίδιον ἔκτειναν καὶ πολλὰ τῶν σημείων ἥρπασαν. τοῖς δὲ μονομάχοις ἐμπειρίαν τε καὶ θάρσος ἔχειν πρὸς τὰς συμπλοκὰς δοκοῦσιν ἐπήγαγεν Οὔαρος Ἀλφῆνος τοὺς καλουμένους
5 Βατάβους. εἰσὶ δὲ Γερμανῶν ἱππεῖς ἄριστοι, νῆσον οἰκοῦντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Ῥήνου περιρρεομένην. τούτους ὀλίγοι μὲν τῶν μονομάχων ὑπέστησαν, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι φεύγοντες ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς σπείρας τῶν πολεμίων αὐτόθι τεταγμένας, ὑφ' ὧν ἀμυνόμενοι πάντες ὁμαλῶς διεφθάρησαν.
6 αἴσχιστα δὲ ἠγωνίσαντο πάντων οἱ στρατηγικοί, μηδὲ ὅσον ἐν χερσὶ γενέσθαι τοὺς ἐναντίους ὑπομείναντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀηττήτους ἔτι φόβου καὶ ταραχῆς ἀνεπίμπλασαν φεύγοντες δι' αὐτῶν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πολλοί γε τῶν Ὄθωνος νενικηκότες τοὺς καθ' αὑτοὺς ἐβιάσαντο καὶ διεξέπεσον διὰ τῶν πολεμίων κρατούντων εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

XIII. Τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν οὔτε Πρόκλος οὔτε Παυλῖνος συνεισελθεῖν ἐτόλμησαν, ἀλλ' ἐξέκλιναν φοβούμενοι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἤδη τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τρέποντας. Ἄννιος δὲ Γάλλος ἀνελάμβανεν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ παρεμυθεῖτο τοὺς ἐκ τῆς μάχης συλλεγομένους, ὡς ἀγχωμάλου γεγενημένης καὶ πολλοῖς κεκρατηκότας μέρεσι
2 τῶν πολεμίων. Μάριος δὲ Κέλσος τοὺς ἐν τέλει

other hand, had seen many battles and were used to them, but they were now old and past their prime.

So Otho's men charged upon them, drove them back, and captured their eagle, killing nearly all who stood in the first rank; but the others, impelled by shame and anger, fell upon their foes, slew Orfidius, the commander of the legion, and seized many of their standards. Against Otho's gladiators, too, who were supposed to have experience and courage in close fighting, Alfenus Varus led up the troops called Batavians. They are the best cavalry of the Germans, and come from an island made by the Rhine. A few of the gladiators withstood these, but most of them fled towards the river, where they encountered cohorts of the enemy in battle array, and in defending themselves against these, were cut off to a man. But the praetorian soldiers fought more shamefully than any others. They did not even wait for their opponents to come to close quarters, but fled through the ranks of their still unvanquished comrades, filling them with fear and confusion. Notwithstanding all this, many of Otho's men conquered those who opposed them, forced their way through the victorious enemy, and regained their camp.

XIII. But as for their generals, neither Proculus nor Paulinus ventured to enter the camp with them, but turned aside through fear of the soldiers, who were already laying the blame for their defeat upon their commanders. But Annius Gallus received into the town the soldiers who gathered there out of the battle, and tried to encourage them. The battle had been nearly equal, he said, and in many parts of it they had overcome their enemies. Marius Celsus,

συναγαγὼν ἐκέλευσε σκοπεῖν τὸ κοινόν, ὡς ἐπὶ συμφορᾷ τηλικαύτῃ καὶ φόνῳ τοσούτῳ πολιτῶν μηδὲ Ὄθωνος, εἴπερ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός ἐστιν, ἐθελήσοντος ἔτι πειρᾶσθαι τῆς τύχης, ὅπου καὶ Κάτων καὶ Σκηπίων, Καίσαρι κρατοῦντι μετὰ Φάρσαλον εἶξαι μὴ θελήσαντες, αἰτίαν ἔχουσιν ὡς πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἐν Λιβύῃ παραναλώσαντες οὐκ ἀναγκαίως, καίπερ ἀγωνιζόμενοι περὶ τῆς
3 Ῥωμαίων ἐλευθερίας. τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα κοινὴν ἡ τύχη παρέχουσα πᾶσιν ἑαυτὴν ἓν οὐκ ἀφαιρεῖται τῶν ἀγαθῶν, τὸ κἂν πταίσωσιν εὐλογιστεῖν πρὸς τὰ συντυγχάνοντα.

Ταῦτα λέγων ἔπειθε τοὺς ἡγεμονικούς. ἐπεὶ δὲ πειρώμενοι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἑώρων εἰρήνης δεομένους καὶ Τιτιανὸς ἐκέλευε πρεσβεύειν ὑπὲρ ὁμονοίας, ἔδοξε Κέλσῳ καὶ Γάλλῳ βαδίζειν καὶ διαλέγεσθαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Κεκίναν καὶ Οὐάλεντα.
4 βαδίζουσι δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀπήντησαν ἑκατοντάρχαι τὴν μὲν δύναμιν ἤδη κεκινημένην λέγοντες ἐρχομένην ἐπὶ τὸ Βητριακόν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀπεστάλθαι περὶ ὁμονοίας. ἐπαινέσαντες οὖν οἱ περὶ τὸν Κέλσον ἐκέλευσαν αὐτοὺς ἀναστρέψαντας πάλιν ἀπαντᾶν μετ' αὐτῶν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Κεκίναν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, ἐκινδύνευσεν ὁ Κέλσος. ἔτυχον γὰρ οἱ περὶ τὴν ἐνέδραν ἡττη-
5 μένοι πρότερον ἱππεῖς προεξελαύνοντες. ὡς οὖν προσιόντα τὸν Κέλσον κατεῖδον, εὐθὺς βοήσαντες ὥρμησαν ἐπ' αὐτόν. οἱ δὲ ἑκατοντάρχαι προέστησαν ἀνείργοντες· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων λοχαγῶν

moreover, assembled the officers and urged them to consult the public good. In view of so great a calamity, he said, and the slaughter of so many citizens, not even Otho himself, if he were a good man, would wish to make further trial of his fortune, since even Cato and Scipio, by refusing to yield to a victorious Caesar after Pharsalus, had incurred the charge of needlessly squandering the lives of many brave men in Africa, although their struggle was in behalf of Roman freedom. For in general all men alike are subject to the decrees of fortune, but of one thing she cannot rob a good man, and that is the privilege, in case of adversity, of taking reasonable measures to correct the situation that confronts him.

By this speech Celsus won over the officers. And after they had sounded the soldiers and found them desirous of peace, and when Titianus urged that an embassy be sent in the interest of concord, Celsus and Gallus decided to go and confer with Caecina and Valens. But as they were on the way they were met by some centurions of the enemy, who said that their army was already in motion and was on its way to Bedriacum, and that they themselves had been sent out by their generals to treat for concord. Accordingly, Celsus commended them, and bade them turn back with him and go to meet Caecina. But when they were near the army of Caecina, Celsus ran risk of his life. For it chanced that the horsemen who had formerly been worsted by him at the ambush were riding on in advance. So when they saw Celsus coming up, they forthwith raised a shout and dashed against him. But the centurions stood in front of him and kept them off;

φείδεσθαι βοώντων οἱ περὶ τὸν Κεκίναν πυθόμενοι καὶ προσελάσαντες τὴν ἀκοσμίαν ταχὺ τῶν 1073
ἱππέων ἔπαυσαν, τὸν δὲ Κέλσον ἀσπασάμενοι φιλοφρόνως ἐβάδιζον μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ Βητριακόν.
6 ἐν δὲ τούτῳ μετάνοια Τιτιανὸν ἔσχεν ἐκπέμψαντα τοὺς πρέσβεις· καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς θρασυνομένους αὖθις ἀνεβίβαζεν ἐπὶ τὰ τείχη καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρεκάλει βοηθεῖν. τοῦ δὲ Κεκίνα προσελάσαντος τῷ ἵππῳ καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν ὀρέγοντος οὐδεὶς ἀντέσχεν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἠσπάζοντο τοὺς στρατιώτας, οἱ δὲ τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξαντες ἐξῄεσαν καὶ ἀνεμίγνυντο τοῖς προσ-
7 ήκουσιν. ἠδίκει δὲ οὐδείς, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλοφροσύναι καὶ δεξιώσεις ἦσαν, ὤμοσαν δὲ πάντες περὶ τοῦ Οὐϊτελλίου καὶ προσεχώρησαν.

XIV. Οὕτω μὲν οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν παραγενομένων ἀπαγγέλλουσι γενέσθαι τὴν μάχην, οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ σαφῶς ὁμολογοῦντες εἰδέναι τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα διὰ τὴν ἀταξίαν καὶ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν. ἐμοὶ δὲ ὕστερον ὁδεύοντι διὰ τοῦ πεδίου Μέστριος Φλῶρος, ἀνὴρ ὑπατικὸς τῶν τότε μὴ κατὰ γνώμην, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκῃ μετὰ τοῦ Ὄθωνος γενομένων, νεὼν ὄντα παλαιὸν ἐπιδείξας διηγεῖτο μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐπελθὼν ἰδεῖν νεκρῶν σωρὸν τηλικοῦτον ὥστε
2 τοὺς ἐπιπολῆς ἅπτεσθαι τῶν ἀετῶν. καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἔφη ζητῶν οὔτε αὐτὸς εὑρεῖν οὔτε παρ' ἄλλου του πυθέσθαι. θνήσκειν μὲν γὰρ παρὰ τοὺς ἐμφυλίους πολέμους, ὅταν τροπὴ γένηται, πλείονας εἰκός ἐστι, τῷ μηδένα ζωγρεῖν, χρῆσθαι γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι τοῖς ἁλισκομένοις, ἡ δ' ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο

the other officers also shouted to the horsemen to spare Celsus, and Caecina, hearing their cries, rode up and speedily brought his horsemen to order. Then he greeted Celsus in a friendly manner and went on with him to Bedriacum. But meanwhile Titianus had repented of having sent the embassy, and after ordering the more resolute of the soldiers back again upon the walls, he exhorted the rest to go to their support. However, when Caecina rode up on his horse and stretched out his hand to them, not a man resisted further, but some greeted his soldiers from the walls, while others, throwing open the gates, went forth and mingled with the advancing troops. There were no hostilities, on the part of Otho's men, but only friendly salutations and greetings, and all took oath to support Vitellius and went over to his side.

XIV. This is the account which most of the participants give of the battle, although they themselves confess that they were ignorant of its details, owing to the disorder and the unequal fortunes of the several groups. At a later time, when I was travelling through the plain, Mestrius Florus, one of the men of consular rank who were at that time with Otho (by constraint, and not of their own will), pointed out to me an ancient temple, and told me how, as he came up to it after the battle, he saw a heap of dead bodies so high that those on top of it touched the gable of the temple. The reason for this he said he could neither discover himself nor learn from anyone else. It is natural, indeed, that in civil wars, when a rout takes place, more men should be killed, because no quarter is given (there being no use for prisoners); but why the dead

σωρεία καὶ συμφόρησις οὐκ ἔχει τὴν αἰτίαν εὐσυλλόγιστον.

XV. Τῷ δὲ Ὄθωνι πρῶτον μὲν ἀσαφής, ὥσπερ εἴωθε περὶ τῶν τηλικούτων, προσέπεσε λόγος· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τετρωμένοι τινὲς ἧκον ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀπαγγέλλοντες, τοὺς μὲν φίλους ἧττον ἄν τις ἐθαύμασεν οὐκ ἐῶντας ἀπαγορεύειν, ἀλλὰ θαρρεῖν παρακελευομένους, τὸ δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πάθος ἅπασαν ὑπερέβαλε πίστιν. ὡς οὐδεὶς ἀπῆλθεν,
2 οὐδὲ μετέστη πρὸς τοὺς κρατοῦντας, οὐδ' ὤφθη τὸ καθ' αὑτὸν ζητῶν ἀπεγνωσμένου τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, πάντες δ' ὁμαλῶς ἐπὶ θύρας ἦλθον, ἐκάλουν αὐτοκράτορα, προελθόντος ἐγίνοντο προστρόπαιοι, μετὰ βοῆς καὶ ἱκεσίας χειρῶν ἥπτοντο, προσέπιπτον, ἐδάκρυον, ἐδέοντο μὴ σφᾶς ἐγκαταλιπεῖν, μὴ προδοῦναι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλὰ χρῆσθαι μέχρι ἂν ἐμπνέωσι καὶ ψυχαῖς καὶ σώμασιν ὑπὲρ
3 αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα ὁμοῦ πάντες ἱκέτευον. εἷς δὲ τῶν ἀφανεστέρων ἀνατείνας τὸ ξίφος καὶ εἰπών, "Ἴσθι, Καῖσαρ, οὕτως ὑπὲρ σοῦ παρατεταγμένους ἅπαντας," ἀπέσφαξεν ἑαυτόν.

Ἀλλὰ τούτων οὐδὲν ἐπέκλασε τὸν Ὄθωνα, φαιδρῷ δὲ καὶ καθεστῶτι προσώπῳ πανταχόσε τὰς ὄψεις περιαγαγών, "Ταύτην," εἶπεν, "ὦ συστρατιῶται, τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνης, ἐν ᾗ με πρῶτον ἐποιήσατε αὐτοκράτορα, μακαριωτέραν ἡγοῦμαι, τοιούτους ὁρῶν ὑμᾶς καὶ τηλικούτων
4 ἀξιούμενος. ἀλλὰ μὴ μείζονος ἀποστερεῖτε, τοῦ καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ τοσούτων καὶ τοιούτων πολιτῶν. εἰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας ἄξιος γέγονα, δεῖ με τῆς ἐμῆς ψυχῆς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀφειδεῖν. οἶδα τὴν νίκην τοῖς ἐναντίοις οὔτε βεβαίαν οὔτε

bodies should be collected and heaped up in such a manner is not easy to determine.

XV. To Otho there came at first, as is usual in such catastrophes, an indistinct rumour of the result; but presently some of his soldiers who had been wounded came with direct tidings of the battle. Here one cannot so much wonder that his friends would not let him give up all for lost, and exhorted him to be of good cheer; but the feelings of his soldiers towards him passed all belief. Not a man of them left him, or went over to the victorious side, or was seen to despair of the emperor's cause and seek his own safety, but all alike came to his door, called upon him as emperor, became his humble suppliants when he appeared before them, seized his hands with cries and prayers, fell down before him, wept, begged him not to abandon them, and not to betray them to their enemies, but to use their lives and persons in his service as long as they had breath. Such were their united supplications. And one obscure soldier held up his sword, and with the words "Know, O Caesar, that all of us stand in this fashion at thy side," slew himself.

None of these things, however, broke Otho down, but looking all around with a countenance composed and cheerful, he said: "This day, my fellow-soldiers, I deem more blessed than that on which ye first made me emperor, since I see you so devoted to me and am judged worthy of so high honour at your hands. But do not rob me of a greater blessedness—that of dying nobly in behalf of fellow-citizens so many and so good. If I was worthy to be Roman emperor, I ought to give my life freely for my country. I know that the victory of our adversaries

ἰσχυρὰν οὖσαν. ἀπαγγέλλουσι τὴν ἐκ Μυσίας ἡμῶν δύναμιν οὐ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπέχειν,
5 ἤδη καταβαίνουσαν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδρίαν. Ἀσία καὶ Συρία καὶ Αἴγυπτος καὶ τὰ πολεμοῦντα Ἰουδαίοις στρατεύματα μεθ' ἡμῶν, ἥ τε σύγκλητος παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ τέκνα τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ γυναῖκες. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι πρὸς Ἀννίβαν οὐδὲ Πύρρον οὐδὲ Κίμβρους ὁ πόλεμος ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰταλίας, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαίοις πολεμοῦντες ἀμφότεροι τὴν πατρίδα καὶ νικῶντες ἀδικοῦμεν καὶ νικώμενοι. καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τοῦ
6 κρατοῦντος ἐκείνῃ κακόν ἐστι. πιστεύσατε πολλάκις ὅτι δύναμαι κάλλιον ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ἄρχειν. οὐ γὰρ ὁρῶ τί τηλικοῦτον Ῥωμαίοις ὄφελος ἔσομαι κρατήσας, ἡλίκον ἐπιδοὺς ἐμαυτὸν ὑπὲρ 10
εἰρήνης καὶ ὁμονοίας, καὶ τοῦ μὴ πάλιν ἡμέραν τοιαύτην ἐπιδεῖν τὴν Ἰταλίαν."

XVI. Τοιαῦτα διαλεχθείς, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐνίστασθαι καὶ παρακαλεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντας ἀπισχυρισάμενος, τούς τε φίλους ἐκέλευεν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι καὶ τῶν συγκλητικῶν τοὺς παρόντας· τοῖς δὲ μὴ παροῦσιν ἐπέστελλε καὶ γράμματα πρὸς τὰς πόλεις, ὅπως παρακομισθῶσιν ἐντίμως καὶ μετὰ
2 ἀσφαλείας. προσαγόμενος δὲ τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν Κοκκήϊον, ἔτι μειράκιον ὄντα, θαρρεῖν παρεκάλει καὶ μὴ δεδιέναι Οὐϊτέλλιον, οὗ καὶ μητέρα καὶ γενεὰν καὶ γυναῖκα αὐτός, ὥσπερ οἰκείων κηδόμενος, διαφυλάξαι. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδὲ θέσθαι παῖδα βουλόμενος αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἀναβαλέσθαι τὴν εἰσποίησιν, ὅπως συνάρχοι κρατήσαντος αὐτοῦ, μὴ προσαπόλοιτο πταίσαντος· "Ἐκεῖνο δέ," εἶπεν, "ὦ παῖ, παρεγγυῶμαί σοι τελευταῖον,

is neither decisive nor assured. I have word that our forces from Mysia are already approaching the Adriatic, and are only a few days distant from us. Asia, Syria, Egypt, and the armies fighting against the Jews, are on our side; the senate, too, is with us, as well as the wives and children of our adversaries. Still, it is not to defend Italy against Hannibal, or Pyrrhus, or the Cimbri, that our war is waged, but both parties are waging war against Romans, and we sin against our country whether we conquer or are conquered. For the victor's gain is our country's loss. Believe me when I insist that I can die more honourably than I can reign. For I do not see how my victory can be of so great advantage to the Romans as my offering up my life to secure peace and concord, and to prevent Italy from beholding such a day again."

XVI. So he spake, and after resisting firmly those who tried to oppose and dissuade him, he ordered his friends to depart, as well as the men of senatorial rank who were present; to those who were absent he sent the same command, and wrote to the cities urging them to escort the travellers on their way with honour and in safety. Then he sent for his nephew Cocceius, who was still a youth, and bade him be of good cheer and not fear Vitellius, whose mother and wife and children he had kept safe and cared for as though they were his own. He had desired, he said, to make him his son, but had put off the adoption, in order that the youth might share his power after he had prevailed, and not perish with him after he had failed. "And now, my boy," he said, "this is my last charge to thee; do not alto-

μήτε ἐπιλαθέσθαι παντάπασι μήτε ἄγαν μνημονεύειν ὅτι Καίσαρα θεῖον ἔσχες."

3 Γενόμενος δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων μετὰ μικρὸν ἤκουσε θορύβου καὶ βοῆς ἐπὶ θύραις. οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται τῶν συγκλητικῶν τοῖς ἀπιοῦσι διηπείλουν ἀποσφάξειν, εἰ μὴ παραμενοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ οἰχήσονται τὸν αὐτοκράτορα καταλιπόντες. πάλιν οὖν προῆλθεν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν φοβηθείς, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας, οὐκέτι δεητικὸς οὐδὲ πρᾷος, ἀλλὰ τραχὺς ὀφθείς, καὶ μετ' ὀργῆς εἰς τὸ θορυβοῦν μάλιστα διαβλέψας, ἀπελθεῖν ἐποίησεν εἴξαντας καὶ διατρέσαντας.

XVII. Ἤδη δὲ ἑσπέρας οὔσης ἐδίψησε, καὶ πιὼν ὀλίγον ὕδατος, δυεῖν ὄντων αὐτῷ ξιφῶν, ἑκατέρου κατεμάνθανε τὸ σπάσμα πολὺν χρόνον, καὶ τὸ ἕτερον ἀπέδωκε, θάτερον δὲ εἰς τὰς ἀγκάλας ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς οἰκέτας προσεκαλεῖτο. καὶ φιλοφρονούμενος διένεμε τῶν χρημάτων τῷ μὲν πλέον, τῷ δὲ ἔλαττον, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἀλλοτρίων ἀφειδῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν καὶ τὸ μέτριον
2 ἐπιμελῶς φυλάττων. ἀποπέμψας δὲ τούτους ἤδη τὸ λοιπὸν ἀνεπαύετο τῆς νυκτός, ὥστε τοὺς κατευναστὰς αἰσθάνεσθαι βαθέως αὐτοῦ καθεύδοντος. ὄρθρου δὲ καλέσας ἀπελεύθερον ᾧ συνδιῴκησε τὰ περὶ τοὺς συγκλητικούς, μαθεῖν προσέταξε· καὶ πυθόμενος γεγονέναι τοῖς ἀπερχομένοις ὧν ἕκαστος ἔχρῃζεν, "Ἴθι τοίνυν," ἔφη, "σύ, καὶ ποίει τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐμφανῆ σεαυτόν, εἰ μὴ θέλεις κακῶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν ὡς ἐμοὶ
3 συμπράξας τὸν θάνατον." ἐξελθόντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ ξίφος ὑποστήσας ὀρθὸν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς χερσί, καὶ περιπεσὼν ἄνωθεν, ὅσον ἅπαξ

gether forget, and do not too well remember, that thou hadst a Caesar for an uncle."

This done, after a little he heard tumult and shouting at his door. For as the men of senatorial rank were departing, the soldiers threatened to kill them if they did not remain, instead of forsaking their emperor. Once more, then, he went forth, since he feared for the men's safety. He was no longer gentle and suppliant, however, but stern of countenance, and looking angrily round upon the most turbulent of the soldiers, he made them go away submissively and in fear.

XVII. It was now evening, and being thirsty, he drank a little water. He had two swords, and after examining the blade of each for a long time, he laid one of them aside, but put the other under his arm, and then called his servants. These he addressed kindly, and distributed money to them, more to one and less to another, not as though lavish with what was no longer to be his, but with strict regard to moderation and the claims of merit. After sending the servants away, he betook himself to rest for the remainder of the night, and slept so soundly that his chamberlains heard his heavy breathing. Just before dawn he called a freedman with whom he had arranged for the departure of the senators, and bade him learn how they fared. And when he was told that all of them had what was needful for their journey, "Go thou, then," he said to the freedman, "and show thyself to the soldiers, unless thou wishest them to put thee to a miserable death for helping me to die." Then, when the man had gone out, with both hands he held his sword upright beneath him, and fell upon it, giving but a

στενάξαι μόνον ᾔσθετο τοῦ πόνου καὶ τοῖς ἐκτὸς
αἴσθησιν παρέσχεν. ἀραμένων δὲ τῶν παίδων
οἰμωγὴν εὐθὺς ἅπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ τὴν
πόλιν ἐπεῖχε κλαυθμός· καὶ μετὰ βοῆς οἱ στρατι-
ῶται εἰσέπεσον ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας καὶ ὠλοφύροντο,
περιπαθοῦντες καὶ λοιδοροῦντες ἑαυτοὺς μὴ φυλά-
ξαντας τὸν αὐτοκράτορα μηδὲ κωλύσαντας ἀπο-
4 θανεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. ἀπέστη δὲ οὐδεὶς τῶν κατ'
αὐτόν, ἐγγὺς ὄντων τῶν πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ κοσμή-
σαντες τὸ σῶμα καὶ πυρὰν κατασκευάσαντες
ἐξεκόμιζον ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις οἱ φθάσαντες ὑποδῦναι
καὶ βαστάσαι τὸ λέχος ἐπιγαυρούμενοι. τῶν δὲ
ἄλλων οἱ μὲν τὸ τραῦμα τοῦ νεκροῦ κατεφίλουν
προσπίπτοντες, οἱ δὲ ἥπτοντο τῶν χειρῶν, οἱ δὲ
προσεκύνουν πόρρωθεν. ἔνιοι δὲ τῇ πυρᾷ λαμπά-
δας ὑφέντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπέσφαξαν, οὐδὲν ἐκδήλως
οὔτε πεπονθότες χρηστὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ τεθνηκότος
οὔτε πείσεσθαι δεινὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος δεδιό-
5 τες. ἀλλ' ἔοικε μηδενὶ τῶν πώποτε τυράννων ἢ
βασιλέων δεινὸς οὕτως ἔρως ἐγγενέσθαι καὶ
περιμανὴς τοῦ ἄρχειν, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι τοῦ ἄρχεσθαι
καὶ ὑπακούειν Ὄθωνος ἠράσθησαν· οὕς γε μηδ'
ἀποθανόντος ὁ πόθος προὔλιπεν, ἀλλὰ παρέμεινεν
εἰς ἀνήκεστον ἔχθος Οὐϊτελλίῳ τελευτήσας.

XVIII. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα καιρὸν οἰκεῖον ἔχει
λεχθῆναι· κρύψαντες δὲ τῇ γῇ τὰ λείψανα τοῦ
Ὄθωνος οὔτε μεγέθει σήματος οὔτ' ἐπιγραφῆς 1075
ὄγκῳ τὸν τάφον ἐποίησαν ἐπίφθονον. εἶδον δὲ
ἐν Βριξίλλῳ γενόμενος καὶ μνῆμα μέτριον καὶ

single groan as he felt the pang. The servants outside heard his groan and raised a wailing cry, and at once the whole camp and the city were filled with lamentation. The soldiers, with loud cries, burst in at the door, and then bewailed their emperor, full of anguish, and reviling themselves because they had not watched over him and prevented him from dying in their behalf. Not one of his followers went away, although the enemy were near, but after attiring the body and preparing a funeral pyre for it, they escorted it thither with military honours, and full of exultation were those who won the privilege of carrying the bier. Of the rest, some embraced the emperor's body and kissed his wound, others grasped his hands, and others still made him their obeisance at a distance. There were some, too, who first put their torches to the pyre and then slew themselves, not, so far as could be known, because they were either indebted to the dead for favours, or fearful of punishment at the hands of the victor. Nay, it would seem that no king or tyrant was ever possessed by so dire and frenzied a passion for ruling as was that of these soldiers for being ruled and commanded by Otho; not even after his death did their yearning for him leave them, nay, it abode with them until it finally changed into an incurable hatred for Vitellius.

XVIII. Well, then, the rest of the story is now in place. They buried the remains of Otho, and made a tomb for them which neither by the great size of its mound nor by the boastfulness of its inscription could awaken jealousy. I saw it when I was at Brixillum. It is a modest memorial and the inscrip-

τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν οὕτως ἔχουσαν, εἰ μεταφρασθείη· "Δηλώσει[1] Μάρκου Ὄθωνος."

2 Ἀπέθανε δὲ Ὄθων ἔτη μὲν ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα βιώσας, ἄρξας δὲ τρεῖς μῆνας, ἀπολιπὼν δὲ μὴ χείρονας μηδ' ἐλάττους τῶν τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ ψεγόντων τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας τὸν θάνατον. βιώσας γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐπιεικέστερον Νέρωνος ἀπέθανεν εὐγενέστερον.

3 Οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται Πολλίωνος τοῦ ἑτέρου τῶν ἐπάρχων ὀμνύειν εὐθὺς εἰς τὸν Οὐϊτέλλιον κελεύσαντος ἐδυσχέραινον· καὶ πυθόμενοι τῶν συγκλητικῶν ἐνίους ἔτι παρεῖναι τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀφῆκαν, Οὐεργινίῳ δὲ Ῥούφῳ πράγματα παρεῖχον ἅμα τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ κατακαλοῦντες αὖθις καὶ κελεύοντες ἄρχειν ἢ
4 πρεσβεύειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἡττωμένων παραλαβεῖν, νενικηκότων πρότερον μὴ θελήσας, μανικὸν ἡγεῖτο· πρεσβεύειν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Γερμανοὺς δεδιώς, πολλὰ βεβιάσθαι παρὰ γνώμην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δοκοῦντας, ἔλαθε δι' ἑτέρων θυρῶν ἐκποδὼν ποιήσας ἑαυτόν. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἔγνωσαν οἱ στρατιῶται, τούς τε ὅρκους ἐδέξαντο καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Κεκίναν προσέθεντο συγγνώμης τυχόντες.

[1] Δηλώσει Bekker adopts Δαίμοσι, the correction of Lobeck.

tion on it, in translation, runs thus: "To the memory of Marcus Otho."

Otho died at the age of thirty-seven years, but he had ruled only three months, and when he was gone, those who applauded his death were no fewer or less illustrious than those who blamed his life. For though he lived no more decently than Nero, he died more nobly.

As for his soldiers, when Pollio, their remaining prefect,[1] ordered them to swear allegiance at once to Vitellius, they were incensed; and when they learned that some of the senators were still there, they let all of them go except Verginius Rufus, and him they annoyed by going to his house in military array and inviting him again,[2] and even urging him, to assume the imperial power, or to go on an embassy in their behalf. But Verginius thought it would be madness for him to accept the imperial dignity now, when they were defeated, after refusing it before, when they were victorious, and as for going on an embassy to the Germans, he feared to do so, since they felt that he had often done them violence beyond all reason; and so he stole away unobserved by another door. When the soldiers learned of this, they consented to take the oaths, and joined the forces of Caecina, thus obtaining pardon.

[1] The other was Proculus, (vii. 4; xiii. 1).
[2] See The *Galba*, vi. 3; x. 2 ff.

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